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WITH  
BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THEIR  
LIVES AND ACTIONS.

BY  
EDMUND LODGE, ESQ., F. S. A.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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MDCCCXXX.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE object of the Publisher in undertaking this entirely new and unprecedentedly cheap edition of a splendid and justly celebrated Work, is to produce it in such a shape as shall be accessible to all whose means have hitherto precluded them from forming an acquaintance with it in more expensive forms: but in effecting this end, none of the merits of the original edition, size alone excepted, will be sacrificed; while on the other hand, the diminution of bulk will, by rendering the work more portable, increase its value with those who in their wanderings love the companionship of a favourite Author, or who, when visiting the old halls and castles where hang the originals of the Portraits adorning the pages of Lodge, desire to satisfy themselves of the Engraver's fidelity.

It is probable that this popular edition may become known to many who have hitherto been unaware of the nature or merits of the work, and to others who, knowing it by name only, or from a cursory inspection of the prints, may have regarded it as a mere collection of splendid engravings, to which the "letter-press" was attached more for form than use. A few explanatory



words, therefore, on these points may not be out of season when introducing it to, probably, a wider circulation than even its already great popularity has obtained for it.

Edmund Lodge, the Author of the work now about to be produced in so novel a form, was a Member of the Herald's College, for many years Norroy, and, afterwards, Clarencieux, King-at-Arms. The greater part of his life was passed in the study of the History and Antiquities of his native country, respecting which he published several valuable works; but it is on the Biographies attached to the "Portraits" that his fame chiefly rests, and on them he expended his best energies. What is required for such a work, and the reasons why a combination of portrait with biography is especially desirable, cannot be better expressed than in his own elegant and forcible words:—"It is needless," he observes in his Preface to the first edition, "to descant largely on the extended information and delight which we derive from the multiplication of portraits by engraving, or on the more important advantages resulting from the study of biography. Separately considered, the one affords an amusement not less innocent than elegant, inculcates the rudiments, or aids the progress, of taste, and rescues from the hand of time the perishable monuments raised by the pencil. The other, while it is, perhaps, the most agreeable branch of historical literature, is certainly the most useful in its moral effects; stating the known circumstances, and endeavouring to unfold the secret motives, of human conduct; selecting all that is

worthy of being recorded ; bestowing its lasting encomiums and chastisements ; it at once informs and invigorates the mind, and warms and mends the heart. It is, however, from the combination of portraits and biography that we reap the utmost degree of utility and pleasure which can be derived from them : as, in contemplating the portrait of an eminent person, we long to be instructed in his history, so in considering his actions we are anxious to behold his countenance. So earnest is this desire that the imagination is generally ready to coin a set of features, or to conceive a character, to supply the painful absence of one or the other."

How far Mr. Lodge acted up to his own standard may be gathered from the following extract from a letter written by Sir Walter Scott to the publisher of the first imperial 8vo edition :—

"Mr. Lodge's talents as an Historian and Antiquary are well known to the public by his admirable collection of ancient letters and documents, entitled '*Illustrations of British History*;' a book which I have very frequently consulted, and have almost always succeeded in finding not only the information required, but collected a great deal more as I went in search of it. The present Work presents the same talents and industry ; the same patient powers of collecting information from the most obscure and hidden sources ; and the same talent for selecting the facts which are the rarest and most interesting, and presenting them to the general reader in a luminous and concise manner.

"It is impossible for me to conceive a work which ought to be more interesting to the present age than that which exhibits before our eyes our '*fathers as they lived*,' accompanied with such memorials of their lives and characters as enable us to compare their persons and countenances with their sentiments and actions."

■ space permit, many other testimonials of the Author's merit might be adduced.

The history of the various editions of this celebrated Work is curious, as illustrative of the great change which a few years, and the rise of a new generation, has introduced into the system of publication. The ■ edition was commenced in 1814, and completed in forty parts, in folio, at 2*l.* 2*s.* and 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* each, according to the date of subscription, for plain copies, and ■ ■ for those on super-royal paper, with India proofs, the whole impression being limited to 550 copies. In ■ an edition in imperial 8vo was issued, in eighty parts, at 7*s.* 6*d.* each part, amounting to 30*l.* for the whole work, a price which was afterwards reduced to 2*s.* 6*d.* each part, or 10*l.* for the whole. ■ ■ present form ■ work will be completed for *forty shillings* !

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## QUEEN ELIZABETH, YORK,

WIFE TO KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

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ELIZABETH PLANTAGENET, the passive instrument of terminating the mighty contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, was the eldest of the five daughters of King Edward the Fourth, by his Queen, Elizabeth Wideville. She was born in the palace of Westminster, on the eleventh of February, 1466, the year after her father's marriage. It has been said that Edward's first intention was to bestow her on George Nevile, Duke of Bedford, and it is not improbable, surrounded as he was by dangers in the commencement of his reign, that he might then have meditated so to purchase the attachment of one of the most powerful of his subjects. Security, however, naturally dictated higher views, and she was engaged, by the treaty of Amiens, in 1475, to the Dauphin, afterwards Charles the Eighth; and the Duchy of Guienne, or an equivalent in treasure, assigned as her dower. For eight succeeding years the match was considered as certain: she was constantly styled in her father's court, and in that of France, "Madame la Dauphine:" in 1478 Edward sent Sir Richard Tonstall, and Langton, a civilian, to perform in Paris the ceremony of solemnly betrothing; and a new treaty, in terms more strict and wary than the former, was soon after signed. Louis the Eleventh, however, the most faithless as well as the most acute politician of his time, having cultivated as long as was necessary to his great objects the amity of England by these repeated assurances, in 1483

suddenly threw off the mask, and married his son to the heiress of Burgundy; and Edward, in the most mighty warlike preparations to himself the affront, by death.

The widowed Queen, and her offspring, became a wretched family of the realm. Elizabeth, who had reached the age of sixteen, fled with her mother from the persecution of her uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard Third, to sanctuary at Westminster, and remained in miserable security while the tyrant imbrued himself in the blood of her brothers, and of her maternal relations, and the crown. In the meantime, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, whose power and policy had mainly contributed to raise him to it, became suddenly, from causes which have been differently represented by historians, his bitter enemy, and conspired with Morton, Bishop of Ely, and afterwards Primate, to place Henry, Duke of Richmond, on the throne. In order to fortify his title and personal interest, as well as to unite the two great parties from whose contention such miseries already ensued, they agreed, in the first place, to propose to Margaret Countess of Richmond, his mother, and to the Queen Dowager, that he should marry Princess Elizabeth. The negotiation was of difficulty and danger. Sir Reginald Bray, a friend of Morton's, and a servant of the Countess, was commissioned to open it to the mistress, who joyfully engaged in it, and dispatched Lewis, her physician, to lay it before the Queen, then in her voluntary imprisonment. The Queen returned for answer, "Hollinshed," that all King Edward's friends and dependants should join with her for the Duke of Richmond, on condition that he took corporal oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth, her daughter; or, in case she was not living, Lady Cecilia her youngest daughter;" and sent her chaplain, Christopher Urrwick, to make overture in her name to Richmond, who was in Bretagne, to whom Morton had already presented himself, on the part of Buckingham; meanwhile





Bray, and a few other [redacted] men, were busily employed at home [redacted] forming a party of persons of rank and influence, taking from each an oath of fidelity and secrecy. Richmond readily agreed to every part of the plan: disclosed it to [redacted] of Bretagne, from whom he received a promise of money [redacted] troops to support his landing in England; and, [redacted] Christmas-day, 1483, [redacted] solemnly, in the Cathedral [redacted] Rennes, [redacted] abide by the [redacted] proposed by [redacted] Queen Dowager.

A design of such extent and magnitude could not long have escaped [redacted] penetration of Richard. He peremptorily [redacted] Buckingham to [redacted] presence, who, [redacted] [redacted] he [redacted] now no choice between death on the [redacted] [redacted] the chance of war, suddenly appeared in arms; [redacted] abandoned by his men; betrayed by an old servant; and beheaded at Salisbury. The Earl of Richmond [redacted] attainted, and, narrowly escaping from the treachery of the favourite minister of the Duke of Bretagne, who [redacted] been bribed by Richard to deliver him up, fled to the court of France, [redacted] [redacted] received with coolness. Richard, flushed with these successes, and knowing that the hopes of the adverse party were founded chiefly [redacted] [redacted] marriage, conceived the extravagant design of offering his [redacted] hand, though he had already a wife, to [redacted] niece [redacted] Princess Elizabeth. The Queen Dowager [redacted] whose unpardonable conduct at that period is spoken of more at large in another part of this work, was prevailed on by that marvellous address of which he was so eminent a master, to quit her sanctuary; to put that Princess, and her four sisters, into his hands; and to use all her endeavours to attach to his interest those whom she [redacted] so lately persuaded to espouse the cause of Henry. While these strange circumstances were passing, Richard's Queen died, [redacted] a moment so convenient to his plan [redacted] to render [redacted] ridiculous to speak [redacted] suspicion [redacted] foul play, and [redacted] now made [redacted] addresses publicly to Elizabeth, who rejected them with [redacted] abhorrence [redacted] might naturally be expected. Back, a good antiquary

but a wretched historian, who, for the sake of contradicting Sir Thomas More, wrote that rhapsodical Life of Richard the Third on which Lord Orford founded his "Historic Doubts," quotes, ■ is true, a letter from that Princess to the Duke of Norfolk, which he tells us was preserved in the Arundelian collection, in which she ■■■■ ■■■■ extravagant professions of her love to the usurper; but the whole context ■ her history, and indeed of that of her time, discredits almost the possibility of the fact. To return, however, ■ truth: Henry, having obtained some ■■■■■ from ■■■ French Regency, took up ■■■ quarters ■ Rouen, for his more ready correspondence with his friends in England, and from thence, despairing now of obtaining Elizabeth, sent an offer of marriage to the sister of Sir Walter Herbert, a man of princely wealth and power in Wales, through whose means he hoped to secure the support of that country. Fortunately for him, ■■■ agent ■■■■ it impossible to reach the place of his destination, for had that treaty succeeded, the whole of those Yorkists who had promised him their support would have abandoned his cause. The Welsh, however, were already nearly unanimous in his favour, and his news from England scarcely less encouraging. He sailed from the coast of France in August, 1485, and landed ■ Haverfordwest; and Richard, whom ■■■ critical ■■■■ ■■■■ affairs had obliged to suspend his suit to Elizabeth, advanced to meet his rival, and was slain in Bosworth Field.

The Princess was ■ that time confined in the castle of ■■■■ Hutton, in Yorkshire. She was invited to repair to London with all speed; and Henry, while ■■■ was ■ her journey, renewed to his Privy Council his promise to marry ■■■■ He had secretly determined, however, to defer the consummation till after his coronation, from a jealous apprehension that some inference of a participation of title with his Queen might be drawn from the fact of their being crowned together, and still more from a hope that the Parliament might be prevailed on previously to settle, as indeed ■ did,

the crown on himself solely. At length, on the eighteenth of January, 1486, the marriage was solemnised with uncommon pomp, and celebrated by the whole people of the realm with a joy scarcely ever paralleled on any similar occasion ; but the coronation of the Queen was unaccountably deferred till the twenty-fifth of November, 1488, to the great disgust of her family, whom indeed Henry held in a degree of hatred which the coldness and cunning of his insufficient enable him wholly to dissemble.

Elizabeth's history, connected with public affairs, closes with her marriage: and the rudeness, the ignorance, or the fears, of those who have written of the royal persons of her time, have left the circumstances of her domestic life almost wholly unrevealed. Lord Bacon tells us that the King "all his lifetime, shewed himself no indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful ; but that his aversion towards the house of York was predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed." If she loved her mother with that genuine filial tenderness which is always heightened by participation in calamity, she could not possibly have cherished much affection for her husband, who persecuted the Queen Dowager till her death with a severity far beyond the measure even of the offence which she has been here stated to have offered to him. One of the first acts of his reign was to seize all her real and personal property, and to imprison her for her life, without any legal proceeding, in the monastery of Berrondsey.

Queen Elizabeth of York was born in childbirth, at the Tower of London, on her birth-day, the eleventh of February, 1502, and was buried in Westminster Abbey ; having born to Henry three sons, and four daughters, in the following order: Arthur, Prince of Wales, who died of a consumption, at Ludlow Castle, on the second of April, 1502, in the sixteenth year of his age ; Henry, who succeeded to his father's crown ; Edmund, Duke of Somerset, who died at Hatfield,



in Hertfordshire, about one year after his birth ; Margaret, married, first, to James the Fourth, King of Scotland, and secondly to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus ; ~~who died~~ who died at Eltham, on the fourteenth of September, 1495, between the third and fourth years of her age ; Mary, wife of Louis the Twelfth, King of France, afterwards married to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk ; and Catherine, the infant who caused her mother's death, and scarcely survived her.









## THOMAS STANLEY,

EARL OF

Of a family as much distinguished by public as private worth by the antiquity of its dignities, and extent of its domains, was the eldest son of Thomas first Lord Stanley, Knight of the Garter, by Joan, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Gousill. His ancestors for three generations were eminent in the State and Court under the three monarchs of the House of Lancaster, the last of whom, Henry the Sixth, his father served for many years in the arduous station of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; in negotiating several treaties with Scotland; and finally, in the post of Lord Chamberlain of the royal household. The storm however, in which that dynasty and many of its friends perished passed favourably over him, and his heir, the subject of this memoir, whom no mark of royal favour had fallen in the preceding reign, was on the 24th of May, in the year of Edward Fourth, 1461, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Stanley, having previously succeeded to the great estates of his father, who died in

We seek in vain in the history of those times for the chain of anecdote which once enlivens, elucidates, and connects the biography of milder later days. It is however scarcely to be doubted that the marriage of Lord Stanley, which occurred about the period with a daughter of Richard Neville, of Salisbury, whose brother, the Duke of Warwick, had placed Edward the Fourth on the throne,

introduced [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] favour of that Prince. Warwick, the versatility [redacted] whose loyalty [redacted] so conspicuous in [redacted] story [redacted] that reign, embraced soon after the fallen fortunes of the [redacted] of Lancaster; importuned Lord Stanley to join him in arms against Edward; and received a firm denial. He [redacted] [redacted] appointed Steward of the royal household, and in 1474 attended the King in his warlike expedition into France, for the aid of which he levied from his estates, and equipped, forty horse, [redacted] three hundred archers. In this enterprise little seems to have occurred worthy [redacted] note, but it may [redacted] presumed that proof [redacted] [redacted] wanting of [redacted] military talents, since in the invasion of Scotland by Richard Duke [redacted] Gloucester, in 1482, [redacted] command of the right wing of [redacted] [redacted] amounting to four thousand men, was entrusted to his charge, [redacted] the head of which force he carried Berwick by assault, and performed several other signal services. During his absence [redacted] King died, and Richard returned to [redacted] [redacted] supreme government under the title of Protector.

[redacted] was nearly at this period that Lord Stanley married Margaret [redacted] Lancaster, [redacted] of Henry Tudor, [redacted] [redacted] Richmond, [redacted] who [redacted] became for the [redacted] time a widow, a match in which, considering subsequent events, it [redacted] [redacted] cult to conceive that political views had [redacted] some considerable share. There was, it is true, no material disparity in the age or rank of the parties, but the Countess, who was distinguished for a rigour of devout practice uncommon [redacted] in those times, had made a vow, previously to this her third marriage, never to admit another husband to her bed, [redacted] Stanley had subscribed to [redacted] condition. [redacted] however shewed no inclination to prevent their union, and indeed Stanley seemed daily to rise in his favour. He was appointed [redacted] [redacted] following year, with [redacted] Hastings, [redacted] superintend chiefly [redacted] preparations for [redacted] young [redacted] coronation, and was so employed when that remarkable scene which [redacted] in the arrest and death of the latter nobleman, occurred at the Council Table in the Tower. Stanley received a severe

wound in the head, which it can scarcely be supposed was accidental, the pole-axe of one of the executioners introduced by Richard on that occasion, was brought into custody on the spot, and committed, with some other Privy Counsellors, to close confinement.

Amidst the doubts and obscurities which cloud the history of this period, it is pretty clear that Lord Stanley and the rest were convinced of Richard's designs on the Crown, and were preparing to counteract them, probably without having at that time concerted the measures. Stanley was in fact suddenly placed on the Throne, by a popular election, within a month after, when Stanley was not only unexpectedly liberated, and replaced in his office of Steward of the Household, which had been vacated by the death of Edward the Fourth, but raised to the exalted dignity of High Constable of England, and invested with the Garter. The Countess his wife was appointed to bear, as she did, the train of Richard's Queen at her coronation. The splendid instances of the tyrant's complaisance were dictated by fear. Stanley's son, Lord Strange, a title which he had derived from his marriage with the heiress to the Barony, was then strongly suspected of taking measures on his estates in Lincolnshire, to oppose Richard by force of arms, and the usurper hoped by his favours to his father to reclaim him, and to win the family to his interest. His authority however was presently shaken in other quarters of the country, when a stupendous event occurred which for a time disconcerted the plans of his opponents. The sons of Edward the Fourth suddenly disappeared, and were reported to have died. The declarations of history on this singular subject, and the doubts which have been raised on them, are equally well known.

To the difficulties likely to impede the expulsion of Richard was now added that of determining on a successor to the throne, which was solved chiefly by the advice of the intrigues of Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who was largely



in raising him to it. The great nobleman, who suddenly become Richard's implacable enemy, suggested to [redacted] of Edward [redacted] Fourth, [redacted] the Countess of Richmond, [redacted] marriage between the [redacted] of [redacted] daughter of [redacted] other, which has been poetically called "the [redacted] of [redacted] roses," and proposed that Henry [redacted] of Richmond, having previously sworn to solemnize such marriage, [redacted] be saluted King of England. [redacted] plan, [redacted] Buckingham his head, [redacted] eagerly adopted by [redacted] parties, [redacted] Richard, on the first intelligence of it, compelled Lord Stanley [redacted] confine the Countess, and discharge [redacted] her attendants, [redacted] deliver Lord Strange into his hands, [redacted] hostage for his father's fidelity. While these matters were passing, Richmond, who [redacted] in France, prepared for the great enterprise which had been devised for him, and [redacted] length landed in Wales, in the month of August, 1485, accompanied by a [redacted] Englishmen of distinction who [redacted] fled from the tyranny of Richard, and by a small French military force.

While Henry marched, with occasional reinforcements, into the heart of the island without opposition, Lord Stanley, and his next brother, Sir William, embodied and equipped their dependants, to the number of five thousand men, and conducted them to the neighbourhood of Lichfield, always however retiring as Richmond advanced, and concealing with [redacted] their real intention, that even himself, who had for many weeks been engaged in the most confidential [redacted] munication with them, began [redacted] suspect their attachment. [redacted] too, equally doubtful, but sufficiently employed in preparing for defence, [redacted] out [redacted] meet his antagonist without questioning them [redacted] the motive for their rising. Stanley at length discovered [redacted] to Richmond, whom he [redacted] privately [redacted] a village [redacted] Tamworth, called Atherston, where, says [redacted] Chronicle, "in [redacted] field, they consulted how they [redacted] give the tyrant [redacted] to the best advantage." They separated unobserved; [redacted] Richard, who had [redacted] the town of Leicester, having encamped his army on a hill

neighbouring parish of Bosworth, made his dispositions for the celebrated action which ensued on the following morning.

The armies advanced towards each other, but Stanley, with his force, stood aloof in dreadful hesitation, as it should seem, between his duty to the life of his son, who was a prisoner in Richard's camp, and his regard to his honour, pledged to Richmond. Richard in that instant dispatched a messenger to him, saying, that "he was sworn by the Lord Strange to cut off Strange's head if Stanley did not instantly join him." The struggle was short. The noble Stanley, with Roman spirit, answered, that "he had more to do and could not promise to come to him at that time," and instantly rushed into the battle for Richmond. "The tyrant," as we use the words of the Chronicle lately quoted, "as he had sworn to do, ordered the Lord Strange to be beheaded at the instant when the two armies were to engage; but some of his council, abhorring that the innocent young gentleman should suffer for his father's offence, told the usurper 'now was a time to fight, and not to execute;' advising him to keep him prisoner till the battle was over. The tyrant hearkened to their advice, and commanded the keepers of his castle to take him into custody till he returned to combat. By this means the Lord Strange escaped the King's revenge, equally bloody and unjust." The keepers of the castle delivered him to his father, the Lord Stanley, after the fight, and for saving him were taken into the new King's favour, and preferred. After the victory, Stanley, or, as some have said, his brother Sir William, placed Richmond's head on a crown, which Richard had worn on his helmet in the battle (absurdly supposed by some writers to have been the royal diadem, but properly described by Lord Verulam as "a sort of ornament"), and proclaimed him King, by the title of Henry the Seventh.

Lord Stanley's expectations of reward for his signal services seem to have been moderate, and the proofs of Henry's

gratitude were certainly **■** abundant. **■** **■** twenty-seventh of October, 1485, he was created Earl of Derby; on the thirteenth of the same month was nominated **■** commissioner for executing the duties of Lord High Steward at the coronation; and on the fifth of the following March was again appointed Constable of England for his life. On the occasion of the baptism of Prince Arthur, he was complimented with the office of godfather, and in 1496 was employed in the treaties of peace concluded in that year, with the Archduke of Austria and the King of France. **■** died, as appears by the probate of his will, in 1504, and was buried in the north aisle of the priory church of Burscough, near Latham, in Lancashire, a foundation which owed its origin to his ancestors. He married, first, Eleanor, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury; secondly, as has been already observed, Margaret, mother to King Henry the Seventh; but left issue only by his first lady, who brought him six sons and four daughters. **■** the sons, Thomas and Richard, **■** two elder, and William, **■** fourth, died in infancy; George, the third son, succeeded to the titles and estates; Edward was advanced by Henry the Seventh to the Barony of Monteagle; and James, the youngest, was a priest, and died Bishop of Ely. The daughters were Jane, Catherine, and Anne, **■** died young and unmarried; **■** Margaret, **■** **■** **■** wife of Sir John Osbaldeston, **■** Osbaldeston, in **■**









## MARGARET OF LANCASTER,

MOTHER TO KING HENRY THE SEVENTH.

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WE must form our opinion of this illustrious lady rather from inferences than from facts. The darkness of the distant age in which she lived allows us but an uncertain view of the several features of her character, but cannot wholly shroud from our observation the splendid splendour seems to rest on every part of it. She appears to be united to the piety the practice of all the moral virtues, and to have chastened, while she properly cherished, the grandeur of royalty by the indulgence of domestic affections, and the retired exercise of a mind at once philosophic and humble. She stepped wisely, as true, out of the usual sphere of her sex, to encourage literature by her example and her bounty, but she cautiously kept herself within it, to avoid any concern in the government of the state after Henry had mounted the throne. She loved him as her son, and obeyed him as her sovereign, with equal simplicity; and seemed to have forgotten that, in the opinion of no small party, he reigned in some measure by her tacit appointment. History surely has treated her rather with complaisance than with justice; but we have lost in the lapse of years most of the positive evidence of her merits, and the careless wit of the most accomplished and popular recorder of biographical anecdotes that our day has produced, has yet further depreciated those merits by wanton and misplaced ridicule.



Henry, however, derived from her a **■** imperfect title, if any, **■** throne. She was the only **■** of John **■** fort, Duke of Somerset, by Margaret, daughter **■** heir of John, Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, and widow of Sir John **■** John. **■** **■** second-born son, but at length heir, **■** John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, who **■** eldest **■** of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by **■** third Duchess, **■** Swinford : but **■** children of John of Gaunt by **■** lady **■** born before marriage, and **■** been invested, by **■** royal charter, confirmed by Parliament, with **■** **■** rights of legitimacy, **■** the inheritance of the Crown, with regard **■** which that charter is wholly silent. Her **■** **■** riage too, **■** sole issue of which was Henry, though **■** **■** in it yet more of royalty than her birth, **■** totally **■** of the line of that inheritance ; for her husband, Edmund of Hadham, Earl of Richmond, though better known by the general description of brother to Henry the Sixth, **■** **■** but the son of that Prince's mother, Catherine, daughter of Charles the Sixth, King of France, by her **■** husband, Owen Tudor, a private gentleman of Wales. Such, however, in **■** rude age, **■** the ignorance or the contempt of law, and the rage of party, that the Lancastrians **■** **■** Henry's right under the **■** authority of these shadows of descent, and were cooled and **■** by **■** prudence of his mother. **■** remained in retirement, affecting **■** perfect **■** as to public affairs, and such good-will and submission to Richard the Third, that **■** came to London purposely to hold up the train of his Queen **■** coronation. **■** besought him, with seeming **■** and simplicity, to receive her **■** into **■** presence and favour, and to permit him to **■** his hand to one of **■** Princesses, daughters of **■** the Fourth. **■** **■** secretly with **■** Duke of Buckingham, who, **■** **■** great friend, had become **■** bitterest enemy, and with the Queen Dowager, for that marriage, and **■** **■** many of the preliminary steps to the great event

which succeeded. These negotiations, however, which chiefly by Morton, Bishop of Ely, were long Richard Henry, with followers, were attained, Margaret, lenity which could arisen only from fear, was confined to the house of her husband, the Lord Stanley, and released by overthrow Richard.

exaltation of her son to the throne have been signal her retreat from public concerns; but she abandon the Court. We find her constantly a party in the splendid feasts ceremonies Henry's reign which have been recorded; a fact which clearly contradicts those who have reported that her piety of gloomy and ascetic cast. That she was sincere and regular in devotion, has been abundantly proved, penance of the duties enjoined by her church. She practised it therefore with severity, to the use of inner garments and girdles of hair-cloth; but when the performance of her task permitted, she could throw them off, and with cheerful heart enjoy, as well acknowledge, the blessings which have been lavished her. The nature and character indeed of her numerous and splendid public foundations tend to acquit her of any suspicion of blind and superstitious bigotry, for they rather dedicated to learning charity than to religion; and need no better proof of her affection institutions than the personal attention which she bestowed on their progress. St. John's and Christ's Colleges, in Cambridge, erected and endowed her charge. perpetual divinity lecture in University, another in that of Oxford, where she constantly maintained a great number poor scholars, under tutors, appointed paid by herself; almshouse Westminster Abbey, for women, and free-school Wimbourne, in Dorsetshire. counsellor these, and indeed in designs actions, was her chaplain and confessor, the wise, learned, pious, and John Fisher, whom,

the year 1504, she obtained the See of Rochester. The following character of her, extracted from the oration ~~pronounced~~ by that prelate ~~at~~ her funeral, the second period in which so evidently glances ~~at~~ the ruling fault in her son's disposition, has an air of such simple fidelity, and asserts so many facts which must have been then of public notoriety, that ~~we~~ can scarcely doubt ~~the~~ truth, especially if ~~we~~ consider with it ~~the~~ reputation of him by whom it was pronounced.

"She was bounteous ~~and~~ lyberal to every person of her knowledge or acquaintance. Avarice and covetyse she most hated, and sorrowed it full moche in all persons, but specially in ony that belonged unto her. She was of syngular easyness to be spoken unto, and full curtayse answere she would make to all that ~~came~~ unto her. Of marvayllous gentyleness ~~she~~ ~~was~~ all folke, but especially unto her owne, whom ~~she~~ trustede, and loved ryghte tenderly. Unkynde she woulde not be unto no creature, ne forgetful of any kyndenesse or service done to her before, which is no lytel part of veray nobleness. ~~She~~ ~~was~~ not vengeable ne cruell, but redy anone to forgete and to forgyve injuries done unto her, ~~and~~ the least desyre or mocyon made unto her for the same. Mercyfull also and pyteous she was unto such as was grevyed and wrongfully troubled, and to them that ~~were~~ in poverty and sekeness, or any other mysery. She was of a singular wisdom, ferre passyng the comyn rate of women. She was good in remembraunce, ~~and~~ of holdyng memory; a redy witte she had also to conceive all thyngs, albeit they were ryghte derke. Righte studious she was in booke, which she had in greates number, both in Englysh, and in Latin, and in Frenshe; and, for her exercise, and for the profyte of others, she did translate divers ~~booke~~ of devocon out of the Frenshe into Englyshe. In favour, in words, in gestare, in every demeanour of herself, so grete nobleness did appear, that what she spake or dyd ~~she~~ marvayllousley became her. She had in a maner all that was praysable in a woman, either in soule or body."

The translations here spoken of by Fisher, ~~are~~ least such ~~as~~

now known, were "The Mirror of Gold for the sinful Soul," from a French translation of a book in Latin, entitled "Speculum Peccatorum;" the fourth book of Gerson's treatise of the Imitation of Christ, also from a version of the Latin original. A account of these infinitely pieces, which among earliest essays of English printing, may be found in of Learned Ladies.

In treating of one with regard to whom we possess so evidences, nothing that has been proved ought be omitted. I doubt, however, whether any apology may necessary for the insertion of a letter from Margaret to the King, her son, from Dr. Howard's Collection of Papers, though the matters to which it relates of a private, and indeed insignificant nature; for the marks which it exhibits of a mind at once prudent and active, of a kind heart, and particularly of parental fondness, render it highly interesting. It is, perhaps, too, the polished specimen extant of the epistolary style of her time. I have taken the liberty only to modernise the obsolete orthography, which, in the original, would render the whole nearly unintelligible readers.

"My dearest, and only joy in this world,

"With my most hearty loving blessings, and humble commendations, I pray our Lord to reward, and thank your Grace, for that it hath pleased your Highness so kindly and lovingly to be content to write your letters of thanks to the French King for my great matter, that so long hath been in suit, as Welby hath showed your bounteous goodness is pleased. I wish, my dear heart, if my fortune be to recover it, I trust you shall well perceive I shall deal towards you as a kind loving mother; and, if I should never have it, yet your kind dealing in to me a thousand times more good I can recover, if the French King's might be mine withal. dear heart, if it may please

your Highness license Whytstonge for this time to present your honourable letters, and begin the process of my cause, for that he well knoweth the matter, and also brought me the writings from the said French King, with his other letters to his Parliament at Paris, it should be greatly to my help, as I think ; but all will I remit to your pleasure ; and, if I be too bold in this, or any of my desires, I humbly beseech your Grace of pardon, and that your Highness take no displeasure.

" My good King, I have now a servant of mine into Kendall, to receive such annuities as be yet hanging upon the of Sir William Wall, my Lord's chaplain, whom I have clearly discharged ; and, if it will please your Majesty's own heart, in your leisure, to send me a letter, I command me that I suffer none of my be retained with no man, but they be kept by my Lord of York, your son, for whom they be most meet, it shall be a good excuse for me to my lord and husband ; and then I may well, without displeasure, send them all to be sworn, the which shall after be long undone. And, where your Grace showed your pleasure for ..... the of King Edward's ; Sir, there neither that, or other thing I may do by your commandment, I shall be glad to fulfil in my little power, God's grace. And, my sweet King, Fielding, this bearer, hath prayed me to beseech you to be his good lord in a matter he sueth for to the Bishop of Ely (now, we hear, elect) for a little office nigh to London. Verily, my King, he is a good and well-ruled gentleman, and full truly served you, well accompanied, well at your first as all other occasions ; and that causeth us to be the more bold, and gladder also, to speak for him ; howbeit Lord Marquis hath been very low to him in times past, because he would not be retained with him ; and truly, my good King, he helpeth me right well in such matters as I have business within these parts. And, my dear heart, I now beseech you of pardon of my long and

writing, pray Almighty to give you a long, good, prosperous Prince, and hearty blessings as I can ask of God. At Calais Town, this day of St. Anne, that I did bring into this world my good gracious Prince, King, and only beloved son, by

Your humble servant, beadswoman, and mother,

MARGARET R."

This eminent lady was born in 1441, at Bletso, in Bedfordshire. The splendour of her rank, and the vast fortune to which she presumptive heir, raised many competitors for her hand. Of these Edmund de la Pole, afterwards the of his family, and Edmund, Earl of Richmond, of whom account has been already given, were selected for her choice, and she determined in favour of latter. In age so of miracles, occasion so important the marriage of a royal heiress, it is not strange that her choice should have been to supernatural dictation.—“When Lady Margaret, mother,” says Lord Bacon, at the conclusion of his life of Henry the Seventh, “had divers great suitors for marriage, she night that one in the of a Bishop, in pontifical habit” (who, by the way, the good Fisher us Nicholas), “did tender her Edmund, Earl of Richmond, King’s father, for her husband.” Richmond in 1456, more a year after the nuptials, leaving highly heir the age of fifteen weeks, and Margaret, long after, became the wife of Sir Henry Stafford, second to Humphrey, the great Duke of Buckingham, by whom also she was left a widow. She was once more married, for in those unhappy days state could be more perilous than that wealthy widowhood; but, to prove that sought only a protector, she took that occasion a vow of continency, administered by Bishop Fisher, which is said to be yet extant in archives of St. John’s College in Cambridge. husband Thomas, Lord Stanley, afterwards

first Earl of Derby of his name, whom she likewise survived. She died on the 29th of June, 1509, three months after the accession of her grandson, Henry the Eighth, and was buried in the superb chapel then lately erected in Westminster Abbey.











## CARDINAL WOLSEY.

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THAT ■ much reason ■ suspect that few eminent charac-  
■ in history have been more misrepresented than that of  
Wolsey. The interests, ■ passions, and the prejudices of  
those by whom alone he could have been well known ■  
combined against him. They consisted of the most enlightened  
■ powerful of each important class of his countrymen, ■  
consequently guided the opinions of the rest. The reformers,  
■ course, shewed him no favour, and the heads of the Anglo-  
■ church beheld ■ anger the monopoly which  
■ had formed of the favour of the Papal see, and the alacrity  
with which ■ aided the project for Henry's divorce. The  
nobility ■ not less jealous and fearful of ■ influence than  
indignant ■ ■ superior splendour assumed by ■ priest of  
obscure origin. When he suddenly declined from ■ enor-  
■ height on which his capricious master had placed him,  
policy, as well ■ inclination, prompted these several parties  
to pour the full tide of their vengeance on his reputation ; to  
trample, at the foot of the throne, on the ruins of a fallen  
favourite ; and, while they ■ Henry and Anne Bullen  
by magnifying his defects, and depreciating his merits, to  
represent him to the nation as a singular instance of the in-  
justice with which fortune sometimes showers her choicest  
gifts on the unworthy. ■ reformation, immediately ■  
ceeding, imposed silence on such as might have been ■  
and willing to rescue his fame from undeserved obloquy, and

consigned [REDACTED] utter oblivion [REDACTED] those [REDACTED] interesting [REDACTED] lively notices which are [REDACTED] safest guides to a correct judgment of the human character. The malice of his enemies could not however conceal from us that he ruled absolutely [REDACTED] political system of England during the many years [REDACTED] Henry's credit, [REDACTED] a monarch and a man, remained unsullied, [REDACTED] that the enormities of that reign commenced as soon as his ministry had concluded; and that his magnificence [REDACTED] equalled by his generosity, and his love of learning by his princely endeavours to diffuse it among his countrymen; that his wisdom was eminent, and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] possessed in that rude [REDACTED] the accomplishments of a gentleman [REDACTED] a courtier in a degree perhaps peculiar to himself.

His very birth [REDACTED] attacked by slander. He [REDACTED] commonly reported to have been the son of a butcher, of Ipswich, in Suffolk; but this tale seems to be satisfactorily refuted by the will of Robert Wuley (and we have ample evidence [REDACTED] the Cardinal in early life so spelled his surname), dated the twenty-first of September, 1496, and recorded in the Bishop's Court at Norwich: by which he gives all his lands and tenements in the parish of St. Nicholas, in Ipswich, and his free and bond lands in the parish of Stoke, to Joan, his wife, and the residue of his possessions to her, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] son Thomas, whose destination to the clerical profession he expressly mentions. Of those persons, who evidently possessed property of no small consideration, Wolsey [REDACTED] undoubtedly [REDACTED] offspring. [REDACTED] was born at Ipswich, in the month of March, 1471, and became a student in [REDACTED] University of Oxford so young, [REDACTED] he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] fourteen. [REDACTED] was afterwards elected a fellow of Magdalen college, [REDACTED] appointed master of the grammar school belonging to that house, where, [REDACTED] his other pupils, [REDACTED] instructed the three [REDACTED] of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who [REDACTED] awarded him by the gift of a rectory in Somersetshire, his first ecclesiastical preferment; [REDACTED] here [REDACTED] [REDACTED] with [REDACTED]

story [REDACTED] prejudices, scarcely credible. Sir Amias Powlett, [REDACTED] neighbouring magistrate, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] have punished him with [REDACTED] stocks, in his own parish, for inebriety; [REDACTED] [REDACTED] are told that he fled, overwhelmed with shame, from his cure. Can this scandalous tradition possibly be reconciled with [REDACTED] known fact that Deane, Archbishop of Canterbury, received him [REDACTED] that precise period as [REDACTED] domestic chaplain?

Upon the death of that Prelate, in the spring of 1504, he was retained in the [REDACTED] capacity by Sir John Nanfan, [REDACTED] ancient courtier, in [REDACTED] degree of favour with Henry the Seventh, and at that time [REDACTED] of Calais, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] by that gentleman presently after recommended to the King's service. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] now appointed one of the chaplains in the royal household, the treasurer of which, Sir Thomas Lovel, a wise man, and of much weight in Henry's councils and favour, presently discerned his superior merit, [REDACTED] distinguished him by his patronage; [REDACTED] he gained at the [REDACTED] time the esteem of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, [REDACTED] minister who enjoyed the King's peculiar confidence. On the recommendation of these statesmen, Henry, in 1508, sent him to Flanders, to make [REDACTED] personal communication to the Emperor, which he performed with such address, and within [REDACTED] period of time [REDACTED] inconceivably short, that he [REDACTED] received [REDACTED] his return, both by the King and Council, with [REDACTED] highest approbation. The rich Deanery of Lincoln, and other ecclesiastical preferments, [REDACTED] immediately bestowed on him, and these grants [REDACTED] among [REDACTED] last acts of that reign.

Doubtless he was already well known [REDACTED] Henry the Eighth, and [REDACTED] probably acquired [REDACTED] share of [REDACTED] Prince's good graces before the death of the late King; but historians in their fondness for referring [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] in courts [REDACTED] intrigue, ascribe his sudden elevation to some political circumstances of the time. The affairs of the state were then wholly directed by Thomas, Earl of Surrey, soon after Duke [REDACTED] Norfolk. Lord Treasurer, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Bishop of Winchester,

who held the office of Secretary of State, and the Privy Seal. Jealousies subsisted between [redacted] great men, [redacted] Fox is [redacted] [redacted] have recommended Wolsey with peculiar earnestness, in the hope that he might become the instrument of supplanting the Treasurer in the King's favour. If this report be correct, the Bishop conceived his plan in [redacted] evil hour for himself, for Wolsey presently became so completely [redacted] of Henry's opinions and affections that both Fox and his rival were forced, for their own credit, to abandon the administration of affairs which they [redacted] [redacted] longer suffered to guide. To gain this ascendancy he had addressed himself [redacted] [redacted] to his master's wisdom and weakness ; to his passions and prejudices ; to [redacted] love of science [redacted] of pleasure ; to his ambition for political distinction, and his earnest desire of despotic rule. Such [redacted] Wolsey's discernment, and such the versatility of his talents, that he fully succeeded in all.

Henry, who on [redacted] accession had given [redacted] the office of Almoner, admitted him soon [redacted] into the Privy Council ; [redacted] him with benefices, among which [redacted] the Deaneries [redacted] York and Hereford ; [redacted] appointed him first Register, and then Chancellor, of the Order of the Garter : [redacted] he now rose with the most unparalleled rapidity. In 1513 he [redacted] appointed Bishop of Tournay, in Flanders, and, [redacted] few months after, of Lincoln ; in the autumn of the following year, he was promoted to the See of York, and succeeded Warham in [redacted] office of Lord High Chancellor ; and [redacted] the seventh of September, 1515, obtained the Cardinal's hat. As the Court of Rome had now honoured [redacted] with its highest dignity, so presently after it invested [redacted] with the greatest powers it had to bestow, by a commission appointing him Legate à latere, which he received in the following year. In the mean time his revenues ontstript even the measure of his preferments. [redacted] held, together with the See of York, [redacted] Bishopric of Durham, which he afterwards exchanged for Winchester ; farmed, at rents scarcely [redacted] than nominal,

those of Worcester, Hereford, and Bath, which had been given by Henry the Seventh to foreigners, who resided in [REDACTED] respective countries; and had the rich abbey of St. Albans [REDACTED] commendam. [REDACTED] presents [REDACTED] pensions from several princes amounted to an immense annual sum. Such compliments [REDACTED] common in [REDACTED] days, and [REDACTED] openly accepted by ministers of state, not as bribes to seduce them from their loyalty, but as acknowledgments of their fair and honourable protection in their respective countries of the just interests of the donors. Indeed Wolsey's bitterest [REDACTED] mics have [REDACTED] ventured to breathe a suspicion [REDACTED] his fidelity.

[REDACTED] income, which has been computed [REDACTED] exceed [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Crown, [REDACTED] expended with a magnificence which, [REDACTED] it not the best authenticated part of [REDACTED] story, would seem utterly incredible. His houses, witness that yet remaining [REDACTED] Hampton, [REDACTED] palaces: and his domestic establishment was a court, maintained with a brilliancy [REDACTED] order which few sovereign princes could emulate. [REDACTED] eight hundred servants, of whom nine or [REDACTED] were noblemen, fifteen knights, [REDACTED] forty esquires. He [REDACTED] a chair of state, under a canopy, and [REDACTED] approached [REDACTED] all [REDACTED] marks of respect paid to royalty, [REDACTED] to kneeling. Henry, who loved romantic splendour, and abhorred parsimony, encouraged these superb [REDACTED] and even delighted [REDACTED] them. It has [REDACTED] usual to charge [REDACTED] with unreasonable pride; but the imputation will be found to rest only on a few instances of his jealous exaction of ceremonious deference to [REDACTED] ecclesiastical rank. Of that sort [REDACTED] [REDACTED] with [REDACTED] Primate Warham, on [REDACTED] question whether his cross should be borne before him in [REDACTED] diocese of Canterbury; a mere question of right and privilege. For the rest, enormous grandeur [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] and in whom could [REDACTED] be [REDACTED] decorous [REDACTED] in him who represented the ruler of kings, and was himself the most powerful of subjects?



It is less easy to find an apology for his conduct in his character of Legate. Under the authority of that commission he persuaded Henry to allow him to erect a jurisdiction not only wholly new in the method of its constitution but assuming faculties independent of all law. It affected chiefly to enforce a just observance of religious moral duties, particularly in cases where the want of legal correction had not been hitherto provided, and openly assumed, as well over the laity as the clergy, a right of inquisition and coercion which had then rarely been exercised in the wild exercise of an undefined royal prerogative. He strove to invest it with a control over the ecclesiastical courts, and to arrogate to it appeals from their judgment in testamentary cases. Warham, a priest of great humanity and mildness, at length complained to the King of his excesses, but without success; and Wolsey persevered as a private individual in the courage to prosecute the judge, who was convicted in a court of law of gross malversation. Henry is said now to have reprehended the Cardinal with great severity, but he prudently restrained in some respects the authority of his court, which, however, subsisted while he held the office of Legate. Another undue exertion of his legantine power, less important, gave offence. By a mandate, issued under that authority, he removed the sittings of the Convocation from St. Paul's, its very ancient place of meeting, to Westminster. This innovation was suggested by his hatred of Warham, whom he seems to have constantly persecuted by a series of petty injuries and insults. It was only in his warfare with that amiable prelate that we discover any abatements of the dignity of Wolsey's mind.

A full account of his political life would necessarily include a series of historical conjectures and reasonings more extensive than the plan of this work could allow, and of his personal story the peculiar circumstances which immediately followed his death have, as has been before observed, left us little but

a few important facts, too well known to justify an enlarged repetition. One step only was wanting to raise him to the summit of human ambition : he naturally aspired to the papal chair, and Henry favoured his pretensions. On the death of Leo the tenth, in 1521, he became a candidate, and, though the election had ended before the arrival of a person whom he sent to Rome to cultivate his interests there, obtained considerable support. The prelate who succeeded, and took the name of Adrian the sixth, survived little more than two years, when Wolsey made a second effort, and again failed. A letter of great length, despatched by him to his agents in Rome on this latter occasion, has fortunately been preserved, and has been more than once published. It will remain a lasting testimony to his force, the activity, and the elegance of his mind ; the delicacy of his feelings, and the exactness of his honour. The subtlety and minuteness with which he dissects the intrigues of the Conclave, and the directions that he gives for steering through them without meanness or duplicity, reflect equal credit on his head and his heart ; and the whole is delivered in a graceful flow of expression, in which it may not be too much to say that no parallel can be found in any epistolary remains of his time.

Wolsey, though disappointed of the attainment of this mighty object, retained his accustomed influence in the Court of Rome. He was carried toward Julio de Medicis, the successful candidate, with an unusual generosity and sincerity in the affairs of the election, and the new Pontiff, from gratitude as well as interest, left no means untried for his gratification. It was about this time that the Cardinal conceived his superb plan for academical institutions at Oxford and Ipswich, and the Pope readily granted his license for the suppression of a multitude of the smaller religious houses, and the diversion of their revenues to the erection and endowment of those colleges. Thus, according to Camden, six hundred and forty-five monasteries were dissolved. The measure excited a general murmur throughout the king-

dom: the pious proclaimed it to be sacrilegious, and the poor, whose alma it curtailed, readily joined in the complaint: Henry himself, is proved by letters from him still extant, permitted it with reluctance; but Wolsey not be deterred by ordinary opposition, and Oxford owes her magnificent Christ Church to his perseverance. His foundation at Ipswich, a projected school of his extensive views, and admirable constitution, was not wholly completed at the time of his death, and presently fell to decay. It was perhaps deemed impolitic to suffer such a monument to his memory to flourish in the place of his birth.

His influence on the mind of his master seemed to increase with the years of his ministry, and the uniform prosperity which waited on his counsels gave, perhaps not altogether unjustly, a colour of wisdom in the eyes of Europe to the King's submission to him; but he was doomed to fall a victim to Henry's passion, and his fate was interwoven with the King's sudden attachment to Anne Bullen. He was already beheld by that lady with aversion, for he had prevented her marriage with Lord Percy, whom she tenderly loved, and he had little room to doubt that she would exert her utmost influence with the King to his disadvantage. When he turned his view from his own danger to the frightful effects which the union of Henry to Anne could scarcely produce both on the Church and the State, he foresaw the ruin of the grand scheme of policy by which he had so long and so gloriously governed both; the downfall of the ecclesiastical establishment itself; and the disgrace, both as a monarch and a man, of his master, whose reputation he in a manner created. Convinced of Henry's earnest inclination to repudiate Catherine, but uncertain of the extent of his passion for Anne, and despairing of success in opposing both, he seems to have hoped that by a ready and humble acquiescence in the one he might possibly gain the means of counteracting the other. The warmth too which he engaged in the prosecution of the divorce perhaps arose in

some measure from a private and personal feeling, for the Emperor Charles the Fifth, nephew to Catherine, had encouraged his hopes of the Popedom, secretly undermined interest; and it been supposed his conduct this great occasion influenced by a spirit revenge.

The process against the Queen commenced early in the year 1528, and Wolsey, together with another Cardinal, to England expressly for purpose, were, by a bull from Rome, constituted the judges. The novelty of such jurisdiction, and the extreme delicacy, as well as importance, of the case, together with the necessity of repeated references to the Pope, and constant prevarication in answers, protracted the suit, that at the end of twelve months the probability of any speedy decision, which had long been gradually decreasing, seemed utterly hopeless. It at this point of time that Wolsey began to decline in the King's favour. That eagerness for strict truth, which often looks obvious facts to it in nice inquiry and endless conjecture, has induced historical writers to ascribe his disgrace to a variety of causes, and each has his favourite prejudice. One finds it in the vengeance of Catherine and Anne Bullen; another in the intrigues of the Papal Court; a third in the anger of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, with whom the Cardinal had a furious quarrel, in open court, on the day that the Queen's cause was adjourned to Rome; and a fourth in discovery by a courtesan of that city of a letter written by Wolsey the Pope's Secretary in direct opposition the divorce. After all, it is highly probable that it from very simple motives in the bosom of Henry himself—brutal delay of the sentence, in opposition will; and anxiety to begin the reformation, on which secretly determined, in the prosecution of it impossible for Wolsey to have become an instrument.

The Pope's inhibition autumn of 1529 of further

proceedings in England ■■■■ matter of ■■■■ divorce, ■■■■ the ■■■■ signal for Wolsey's fall, which, though ■■■■ expected, ■■■■ sudden. Henry, then on ■■■■ progress, commanded ■■■■ attendance ■■■■ Grafton in Northamptonshire. It ■■■■ interview. The King, who received him ■■■■ tacitly, ■■■■ passed the most part of the day in frequent private conferences with him, seemed irresolute, but Anne, who ■■■■ in ■■■■ house, and to whom Henry ■■■■ intervals repaired, ■■■■ said to have turned the scale against him. ■■■■ returned to London, where he learned that the Attorney-General was preparing an indictment against him, yet on the commencement of Michaelmas term he took ■■■■ on ■■■■ Chancery Bench with the accustomed solemnities. Two days after, ■■■■ the eighteenth of October, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, verbally commissioned by Henry, went to his house, to demand the Great Seal, which he refusing to deliver without ■■■■ more authentic command, they procured ■■■■ letter to him from the King, ■■■■ sight of which he resigned it. His palace of York House, which stood on the site of Whitehall, with ■■■■ innumerable precious contents, were afterwards seized, under the authority of ■■■■ obsolete ■■■■ which will presently be mentioned, and he ■■■■ ■■■■ an unfurnished house at Esher, in Surrey, which belonged to his See of Winchester, where he fell into a dangerous illness. The King ■■■■ again hesitated; dispatched the physicians of the Court to attend him; and ■■■■ him, ■■■■ token of regard, ■■■■ ring which Wolsey had formerly presented to him. ■■■■ recovered his health, and was permitted ■■■■ to the Palace of Richmond, which he had some years before received of Henry, in exchange for Hampton Court; and here he received a present from the King of ten thousand pounds, for he was now stripped of all his private property, as well as of his dignities and offices. This ■■■■ disposition, however, soon changed, ■■■■ Henry, surrounded by numbers who now ventured to declare their

enmity to ■■ humbled favourite, commanded him ■ retire to York.

In the mean time his prosecution had been pushed on with constant vigour. The charges against him were first preferred in ■■ Chamber, on the ■■ October, by which Court ■■ declared guilty of the whole ; and then remitted ■ the Parliament, which met on the third of ■■ following month. The Lords ■■ down ■ the ■■ Commons ■■ accusation against him, digested ■■ forty-four articles, unproved, and mostly incapable of proof ; ■■ Commons, ■■ in that despotic reign, refused to lend themselves to such flagrant injustice, and it was found necessary to indict him of having procured Bulls from Rome, particularly that by which he was constituted Legate, contrary to a law of Richard the Second, called "the Statute of Provisors." These alleged offences ■■ been committed by him, and he had for many years exercised the powers that he derived from them, not only with the countenance ■■ approbation of the King and Parliament, but under ■ formal permission expressly granted by Henry himself. The miserable Wolsey, however, durst not produce that license ; pleaded guilty to the indictment ; declared his ignorance of the Statute ; and threw himself on the mercy of the tyrant, who ■ the twelfth of February, 1530, N.S., granted him a pardon, the peculiar plenitude of which has been more than once remarked by our most eminent lawyers.

The sequel of this tragedy is ■■ monstrous ■■ history, unsupported by ■■ evidence of public records, might have striven in vain to convince after-ages ■■ credibility. Wolsey, having retired to ■■ Archbishoprick of York, and to ■■ possession of its revenues, which ■■ been restored ■ him when ■ received the royal pardon ; shorn of all other beams of his former grandeur, and deprived of all hope of regaining any other portion of it, was suffered to ■■ little more ■■ month in ■■ commencement of a ■■ of

innocence, and piety, and resignation, when he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland, at Cawood, one of the houses of his see, for high treason, grounded on the self-same charges which had been so lately, and so amply remitted. The events of his few succeeding days are perhaps more generally known than any other part of [REDACTED] history. As his persecutors were dragging him on towards London, he died [REDACTED] the way, broken-hearted, at the Abbey of Leicester, on the thirtieth of November, 1580.











## WILLIAM WARHAM,

THIS very respectable divine, who ~~was~~ ~~we~~ have owed to a placid and humble temper, and to an innocent and candid prudence, the imperfect tranquillity with which, for a long series of years he held the highest ecclesiastical station, in a time the most inauspicious to churchmen, especially of his persuasion, was the eldest son of Robert Warham, a small gentleman, or yeoman, of Hampshire, by Elizabeth, his wife, and ~~was~~ born at Okeley, in that county, about the year 1440. He received the education requisite to fit him for the clerical profession, which at that time included the study of the civil law, in Winchester School, ~~and~~ at Winchester College, in Oxford, ~~and~~ ~~was~~ in 1475 admitted Fellow of New College, where he soon after took the degree of Doctor of Laws. He quitted the university, in which he had held some reputable appointments, in 1488, with a high ~~reputation~~ for ~~his~~ learning, and embraced the profession of an advocate in the Arches Court, in which he practised with much distinction and success. ~~He~~ became therefore, soon after his arrival, well known at the Court, for Henry the Seventh delighted in civilians, and thought them of all others the best qualified for the management of niceties in affairs of state, particularly in those of foreign negotiation. Warham ~~was~~ accordingly sent, in 1493, with Sir Edward Poyninge, on an embassy to Philip Duke of Burgundy, to persuade that Prince to withdraw his protection from the impostor, Perkin Warbeck; and dis-

charged his mission so well, that Henry, on his return, appointed him Master of the Rolls. He sat in that office for nine years ; a delay of preferment which was amply compensated for by the rapidity with which he afterwards rose to the most exalted stations in Church and State ; for on the eleventh of August, 1502, the Great Seal was delivered to him, as Lord Keeper ; within a few weeks after he was placed in the See of London ; on the first of the following January was appointed Lord Chancellor ; and, in the ensuing March, translated to the Primacy. The favour of his master was marked by the unusual circumstances of pomp and ceremony attending his installation at Canterbury, in which Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the mightiest peer of the realm, condescended to officiate in the character of his Steward of the Household. To these high offices was added the dignity of Chancellor of that university which he used its aid to qualify him for them, to which he was elected on the twenty-eighth of May, 1504.

His royal patron dying not long after that period, a new master succeeded, and presently Wolsey, a new planet, or rather comet, in the sphere of English politics, appeared, and soon eclipsed all competitors for favour. The mild and unassuming character of Warham by no means fitted him for contention with one whose vivacity and ardour in the execution of his schemes were equal to the ambition and subtlety with which they had been projected. Wolsey began by infringing on the dignified distinctions of the Primacy, one of which was, that the cross of no other prelate should be elevated in the same place with that of the Archbishop of Canterbury ; Wolsey, however, would have his cross of the See of York borne before him even in the presence of Warham ; and it has been said, though improbably enough, that he procured for himself from the Pope his famous commission of Legate à latere for the sake of gaining precedency in that peculiar point, to which end his station of Cardinal was insufficient. He then invaded the Primate's prerogative by erecting a court at

Whitehall, for the proving of wills under the separate authority; the length invested himself, in a great measure, through the efficacy of his Legantine power, with the government of the Anglican Church, in spiritual and temporal affairs. Warham remonstrated to him in vain, and at last appealed the King, by the exertion of whose authority Wolsey's violence was somewhat curbed, and his anger against Warham proportionably provoked. Two original expostulatory letters from the Primate to the Cardinal may be seen in the Cotton collection, the one complaining, of great length, of Wolsey's interference with the Archbishop's jurisdiction in a particular case, of no public importance; the other, a brief more general representation of various injuries. This latter seems to merit insertion here, not only as a specimen of Warham's epistolary style, which was of the best of his time, but because the profoundly respectful method of expression affords so remarkable a proof of the awe in which Wolsey was held, even by an outraged Metropolitan of England.

"Please it youre good Grace to understande, I am informed that your Grace intendithe to interrupte me in the use of the prorogatives in the whiche my predecessors and I, in the right of my church of Canterbury, hathe been possessed by priviledge, custume, and prescription, tyme out of minde; and, for the interruption of the same, your Grace is mynded, as I am informed, to depute Doctour Alan; whiche if your Grace shulde do so (considering that not only all myne Courts, th' Arches and th' Audience, but the Commissaries of my diocesse of Kente, I myself, not only in the course of suite of instance of parteys, but in the correction dependings before me and them, continually inhibited by your officers) I have nothings left for me and my officers to do, but shulde be as a shadoo of an Archbishop Legate, void of auctoritie jurisdiction, whiche shal be to my perpetual reproche,

and to my churchie a perpetual prejudice. Wherefore, inas-  
much as I truste verily in your great goodness that youre  
Grace wol not be so extreme against me, and the right of  
my church beforesaid, I beseech your Grace, the premises  
considered, to differ and respecte this matter tyll I may have  
communcation in this behaulfe with your Grace, when it  
shall please yone, in youre leysure ; and, youre pleasure  
knowne, I will be redy to give attendance on your Grace ;  
beseeching you also to give credence to my chapellaine,  
Maister Wellys, wher, in suche matiers as he will shewe  
yours Grace on my behaulfe. At my manor at Croydon,  
the xvii day of Marche.

" At youre Graces commandment,

" WILL<sup>M</sup> CANTUAR."

Wolsey having perhaps abated somewhat of his persecution  
of Warham in ecclesiastical matters, attacked him next in his  
office of Chancellor. He had long been jealous of the inter-  
ference of the Chancery with the authority of his Legantine  
Court, and his ambition readily suggested to him the most  
expedient remedy for the inconvenience. He became eager to  
possess the first lay office under the Crown, and the Arch-  
bishop, fatigued with contention, and advancing to old age,  
was easily prevailed on to gratify him, in the hope to purchase  
by this concession the quiet enjoyment for the remainder of  
his life of those rights, at least, of the Primacy which had no  
concern with matters of state. He resigned the Great Seal  
on the twenty-third of December, 1515, and the King imme-  
diately delivered it to the Cardinal. Warham now retired  
from all public business except that of his church, and passed  
yet many years in his diocese, in a faithful discharge of all the  
duties of his high calling ; in the enjoyment of private friend-  
ships, and in the cultivation and patronage of literature. He  
lived in the strictest intimacy with Erasmus, to whom he  
gave the rectory of Aldington, in Kent. They corresponded  
with the freedom of equals, and exchanged portraits with the

affection of [redacted] "Erasmus, in one of his epistles," [redacted] Wood, "so commends him for humanity, learning, integrity, [redacted] piety, that in the conclusion he saith, 'Nullam absoluti praeulii dotem in eo desidero.' " [redacted] liberality was unbounded and his contempt of wealth almost blameable. [redacted] expended the immense sum of thirty thousand pounds in repairing and adorning the different episcopal houses of his See, and left scarcely sufficient to pay his debts. When he lay on his death-bed, having occasion to inquire of his steward what money he had in his hands, and being answered only thirty pounds, he calmly replied, "Satis viatici [redacted] coelum."

The main fault in his conduct, for which much might be pleaded in extenuation, considering the characters of the two [redacted] whom he served, [redacted] a servile obsequiousness to [redacted] [redacted] occasions. [redacted] the question [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] Henry the Eighth was propounded to [redacted] Convocation, and Cromwell [redacted] concluded his long argument for it, every mouth in that assembly was sealed by fear; when the Primate, after a short pause, declared [redacted] "silence was to be taken for consent," and reported the judgment of the Convocation accordingly. Bishop Barnet [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] "his speeches in Parliament were sermons, begun with [redacted] [redacted] Scripture, which [redacted] expounded and applied to the business they were [redacted] upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery [redacted] King that was possible." That historian, however, in another part of his chief work, says of him, with much apparent fairness, that he was, "a great canonist, an able statesman, a dexterous courtier, [redacted] a favourer of learned men: that he always [redacted] Cardinal Wolsey, [redacted] would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the dignity of his See: that he was not so peevishly engaged to the learning of the schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of knowledge; yet that he was a severe persecutor of those whom he thought heretics, [redacted] [redacted] to believe idle and fanatical people, as appeared in the matter of the Maid of Kent." The truth is that, as the cha-



recter of Archbishop Warham wanted those bold features which history so readily records, it has been hitherto but slightly touched on. As a churchman, he seems to have been pious and sincere: zealous for the persuasion in which he had been bred, and occasionally proving that zeal in instances of intolerant severity; as a statesman, rather esteemed for honesty and experience than for acuteness: as a judge, laborious in his attention to the business of his Court, and pure in his administration of justice: as a man, mild, cheerful, affable, and benevolent. If we may not reckon him with the greatest, he may certainly be esteemed among the best, public men of the age in which he flourished. He died on the twenty-third of August, 1532, in the house of his nephew, Warham, Archdeacon of Canterbury, at Hackington, near London city; and was buried with the most simple privacy in a small chapel, which he had built in his cathedral for that purpose.

A tradition exists, too ancient, and too respectable, to give any reasonable doubt, that the picture from which the present engraving was made was presented by Henry VIII. to the Archbishop, inclosed in the frame in which it yet remains.









## SIR JOHN MORE.

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WE know nothing of ~~the~~ gentleman's ~~ancestry~~. No record of them remains in the College of Arms, and among the many who have written the ~~life~~ of his son, though all strive to combat a prevailing opinion that he came of an obscure family, not one has attempted to advance a single fact which might tend to trace his pedigree beyond his father, the subject of the present Sketch. Sir John More was bred to the law; received his professional education in Lincoln's Inn; and acquired a high reputation ~~as~~ ~~an~~ advocate soon after his appearance at the bar. In 1501, that son, afterwards the admirable Chancellor, gave high offence to the Court by opposing in ~~the~~ House of Commons, of which in very early life he ~~had~~ become a member, a motion ~~for~~ the import of a subsidy, and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the Seventh, to James the Fourth, King of Scotland, and his father was immediately after committed, by the royal order, to the Tower. ~~Of~~ the nature of his accusation (for some specific charge, even in those days ~~of~~ violence and injustice, must have been alleged) we are wholly ignorant, but the few who have spoken ~~of~~ the circumstance agree in ascribing his imprisonment to the anger excited in the King by the freedom of his son's parliamentary conduct. This is by no means improbable. Revenge and avarice were the ruling features of Henry's character; and having in this instance gratified the former unreasonable disposition by the punishment of a guiltless person, he proceeded to feed the latter by the base exaction of a fine of one

pounds, on payment of which was liberty, and, resuming the exercise of his profession, was called to the degree of a Serjeant in Michaelmas term, 1505. He was appointed a Judge of the King's Bench in 1518, and on that occasion received knighthood; and, as he never experienced further promotion, it may be plausibly inferred that his abilities were of no superior cast, especially when we recollect the great source of legal preferment which existed in family, for he survived for many years his son's appointment to the Chancellorship. Sir Thomas, who wrote his own epitaph, describes his father in as "*Homo civilis, innocens, mitis, misericors, æquus, et integer*:" it may be reasonably supposed that sapient, the subject had merited that epithet.

He was to the last degree beloved and respected by his son, whose constant practice it was, in passing through West- Hall in state, judgment seat in the Chancery, to step for a minute into the Court of King's Bench, and kneel to his father for his blessing. From the little that has been transmitted to us respecting Sir John More, appear to have been a worthy, humble, prudent man. He must have amassed considerable wealth in the practice of his profession, for he purchased the manor and extensive estates of Gubbins, more properly Gobions, in the parish of North Mimms, in Hertfordshire, which remained long in his posterity. He was thrice married: first, to the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Bedfordshire, by whom he had his celebrated only son, and two daughters; Jane, married to Richard Stafferton; and Elizabeth, to John Rastall, father of the eminent judge of that name. Secondly, Alice, daughter of John of Lowly, in Surrey, by whom he had no issue. His third wife is unknown. He died in 1533, at the age of ninety, of a surfeit, as it is said, occasioned by immoderate eating of grapes, and was buried in the Church of St. Laurence, in the Jewry.











## SIR THOMAS MORE.

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In composing, several years since, a small sketch of the life of this admirable person, which has been published in another biographical collection, I summed up his character as it appeared to me, in terms which it may be pardonable to repeat here; for a second and more exact review of his conduct has furnished me ground for change of opinion, and to alter the diction of a few simple passages which the same could perhaps scarcely express, would produce a silly counterfeit of originality. I perhaps am similar liberty in a few subsequent instances, in the progress of my present work, and beg leave, for all, to offer this apology for the practice, as well as for having said so much on this subject.

To Sir Thomas More was the brightest character of the age in which he lived, and which exhibited the ferocity of uncivilised man without its simplicity, the degeneracy of modern manners without their refinement, were praise beneath his merit; to challenge the long and splendid series of English biography to produce his equal in any period, might be deemed presumptuous; but, if the able and honest statesman, the acute and incorrupt magistrate, the loyal but independent subject, constitute an excellent public man; if the good father, the good husband, and the good master, the firm friend, the moral though witty companion, the upright neighbour, the pious Christian, the patient martyr, form a perfect private character, he is a hero.

He was born in Milk-street, Cheapside, about the year

1480, the only son of Sir John More, a Judge of the King's Bench, by his wife the daughter of a Mr. Handcombe, of Holywell, in Flintshire. He acquired his Latin at the hospital of St. Anthony in the parish of St. Fink, in London, where was a school of high reputation, from whence he was removed to St. Mary Hall, or, as some have said, to Canterbury College, in Christchurch, in the university of Oxford. The primate, John Morton, whose family he passed some of his earliest years, in the character of a gentleman attendant, according to the fashion of that time, charmed as much by his wit as by his learning, said to the great persons at his table, "This child here waiting, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous great man;" and the prediction began to be verified, for, at the age of eighteen, the literary fame which he had acquired provoked the envy of German critics, and the praise of others. Erasmus, at that time, wrote to him in the behalf of Brixius, one of the former class, who had attacked him in an invective intitled "Antimorus," seriously intreating his mercy to that old and experienced disputant.

Just at this period he left the university, and began to study the law in New Inn, afterwards in Lincoln's Inn, passing his hours of leisure in a circle, of which he naturally became the centre, composed of those whose wisdom his learning could best inform, and of those the vivacity of whose genius could delight him. At the age of twenty-one, when he had barely been called to the station of an utter barrister, he was elected a member of the House of Commons, and was presently distinguished there for a freedom of conduct which, at that time, could have arisen only from the purest motives. In that spirit he opposed in 1504 the requisition of a subsidy and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry the Seventh, with the King of Scots, with such force and honesty of reasoning that the rejection of the demand in 1505 may have been

wholly to his endeavours. A privy councillor ran immediately to his house, and told the King, "that a beardless boy had overthrown his purpose," and Henry was once more alarmed and his avarice by committing, under some frivolous pretences, the young senator's father to the Tower and forcing him to purchase his release by the payment of a fine of one hundred pounds. More, however, became so alarmed at the King's resentment, that he retired for a considerable time from the parliament, and from his professional avocations, and during that interval, which seems to have been passed in a place of concealment, he studied geometry, astronomy, and music, in which last he much delighted, and exercised his skill in historical composition.

More returned at length to his practice at the bar, which presently became so extensive as to produce, according to his own report to his son-in-law, and biographer, Mr. Roper, an annual income of four hundred pounds, equal at least to five thousand marks a year. More remained, however, in dis-favour at court till after the accession of Henry the Eighth, who, with all his faults, easily discovered and generally encouraged, true merit. The King sent for him by Wolsey, and, at the first taste of his extraordinary powers, determined to employ him. Foreign negotiation was then to be the essential part of the education of a statesman. More was directed therefore in 1516 to accompany Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, one of his intimate friends, to Flanders, for the renewal of a treaty of alliance with the Archduke of Austria, afterwards Charles the Fifth, and on his return was warmly recommended by Henry to devote himself to the service of the Crown, which his prudence, and indeed his interests, induced him to do that time and for some years after, to decline. The King at length pressed him with such importunity that he durst no longer refuse, and in 1519 he accepted the office of Master of Requests; was soon after knighted, and sworn of the Privy Council; and in the succeeding year appointed Treasurer of the Ex-

chequer. [redacted] hesitation had been wholly unaffected. On the occasion of his becoming a Privy Councillor, he expressed [redacted] (according to Stapleton, one of his biographers), to his bosom friend, Bishop Fisher, in these terms; and the [redacted] is rendered the more valuable by the features which it discloses, [redacted] such good authority, of Henry's character at that time:—"I [redacted] come [redacted] the court extremely against my will, [redacted] every body knows, and [redacted] the King himself often twitteth me in sport for it; and hereto do I hang so unseemly, as a man not using to ride doth [redacted] unhandsomely in the saddle. But our Prince, whose special and extraordinary favour towards me I know not how I shall ever be able to deserve, is so affable and courteous to all men, that every one who [redacted] never so little hope of himself may [redacted] somewhat whereby he may imagine [redacted] he loveth him; even as the citizens' wives of London do, who imagine that our Lady's picture, [redacted] [redacted] Tower, doth smile upon them [redacted] they pray before it. But I am not so happy that I can perceive such fortunate signs [redacted] deserving his love, and of [redacted] abject spirit than [redacted] I can persuade myself [redacted] I have it already: yet, such is the virtue [redacted] learning of [redacted] King, [redacted] [redacted] daily increasing industry in both, [redacted] by how much the more I see his Highness increase in both these kingly ornaments, by [redacted] much the less troublesome [redacted] courtier's [redacted] seemeth unto me."

[redacted] he was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and in the following year, says Hakewel, of the House of Peers. In the former capacity he again distinguished himself by [redacted] [redacted] opposition to a subsidy, and, personally, to Wolsey, who came to the house, [redacted] his usual splendour, [redacted] influence [redacted] decision by his presence. On a question having [redacted] previously debated whether they should receive him but with a few attendants, or with his whole train, More is reported [redacted] have said, "Masters, forasmuch as my [redacted] [redacted] lately, ye wot well, [redacted] to [redacted] charge [redacted] lightness [redacted] our tongues, [redacted] things uttered out [redacted] [redacted] house, [redacted]

should not in my mind be amiss to receive him with all his pomp ; with his robes, his pillars, his poll-axes, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too ; to the intent that if [ ] the like fault with us, then we may be the bolder, from ourselves, [ ] lay the blame on those whom [ ] Grace bringeth with him." [ ] favour of Henry, whose natural generosity of spirit then perhaps remained unabated, was [ ] impaired by this unusual freedom : More, in 1526, was appointed [ ] of [ ] Duchy of Lancaster ; in the following year was joined to Wolsey, and others, in an embassy to the Court [ ] France ; and, in 1529, went with [ ] Cambray, to secure the payment of certain [ ] due to the King from Charles the Fifth, his [ ] in which business [ ] him the highest approbation. He [ ] Henry's most esteemed servant, and [ ] familiar companion, but he had found some [ ] to alter his opinion of his master's character. Roper informs us, that about this time, Henry coming suddenly, [ ] he frequently did, to dine with More at his house at Chelsea, and walking long after dinner in the garden, with his [ ] about Sir Thomas's neck, Roper, after the King's departure, congratulated him [ ] distinguished [ ] mark of royal kindness, observing that [ ] one except Wolsey [ ] ever before experienced such condescension. "I thank our Lord, son," replied More, "I find [ ] Grace my very good Lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour [ ] as any subject within [ ] realm ; howbeit, son Roper, I must tell thee I have [ ] to be proud thereof, [ ] my [ ] would win him a [ ] in France, it would [ ] fail [ ] off."

Henry's mind [ ] wholly occupied by [ ] long-cherished project of the divorce. [ ] consulted [ ] reasoned with More on that great subject, and had met with a firm opposition. So attached, however, was he to the man, or so anxious for the sanction of his coincidence, that [ ] determined to gratify the one, or to bribe the other, by a grant of the first station under the crown. More was ap-



pointed, on the twenty-fifth of October, 1530, to succeed the disgraced Cardinal in the office of High Chancellor, which had never before been held by a layman, and this was the first serious blow struck by Henry at the power of the priesthood. He entered it with melancholy forebodings, which were soon verified. With a ~~perfect~~ perfection, which, as has been well said, and by a dissenter too, was such as made him "not only an honour to any particular form of Christianity, but to the Christian name and in general," his zeal for the Romish Church was equalled only by the benevolent spirit in which he exercised it. He had for some time beheld in horror the gradual approaches to the downfall of that church, and was now called to a situation in which he was compelled either to aid its enemies with his counsels, and to ratify their decisions by his official acts, or to incur the severest penalties by his refusal. He virtuously preferred the latter, and, having persevered to the end, denying any degree of assent to the proposed divorce, on the sixteenth of May, 1533, he resigned the seal, determined that it should never be placed by his hand on the instrument by which that process was to be concluded.

The definitive sentence was pronounced and published on the twenty-third, and the coronation of Ann Boleyn, to whom the impatient Henry had been for some time united, at least by the forms of matrimony, was fixed for the thirty-first of the same month. More, doubtless by the King's order, was pressed by several of the Bishops who were to officiate, to be present at the ceremony, for his reputation in so high a kingdom was the slightest colour of approbation from him was esteemed important; but he steadfastly refused, and boldly declared to those prelates the conviction of the illegality of the marriage. Henry now sought to move them by terror. In the ensuing parliament a bill of attainder against him was agitated in the House of Peers, for misprision of treason in the affair of that enthusiast, or impostor, who was called the Holy Maid of Kent, and he was more than

once cited before the Privy Council on other charges, but the evidence on each proved too weak even for the [redacted] fashion of that reign. The act of supremacy, which appeared in 1534, at length fixed his fate. When [redacted] oath prescribed by it was tendered to him, he declined to take it, and was committed to [redacted] custody of [redacted] Abbot of Westminster, and, on a [redacted] refusal, a few days after, to [redacted] Tower of London. Endeavours were now again ineffectually used to win him by persuasion, while the [redacted] and merciful Cranmer as vainly endeavoured [redacted] prevail on the King to dispense [redacted] the oath in [redacted] [redacted]. After fifteen months' imprisonment, he was arraigned of high treason at the King's Bench bar, [redacted] denying [redacted] King's supremacy. Rich, the Solicitor General, afterwards Chancellor, [redacted] the sole witness against him, and the testimony of that wretch, whose name should be consigned [redacted] eternal infamy, consisted in the repetition of speeches which [redacted] had artfully drawn from More, during [redacted] visit to [redacted] prison, in [redacted] familiar conversation, which Rich had commenced by expressly declaring that he [redacted] [redacted] committed [redacted] to agitate in it any [redacted] regarding the prosecution. Much [redacted] of this evidence Sir Thomas positively denied, [redacted] [redacted] jury found him guilty, and he [redacted] sentenced to be hanged, drawn, [redacted] quartered ; [redacted] doom which Henry altered, in consideration of the high office which he [redacted] held. [redacted] [redacted] upon Tower Hill on the [redacted] of July, 1535, [redacted] [redacted] revered head [redacted] ignominiously exposed [redacted] London Bridge, from whence after many days, [redacted] was privately obtained by his affectionate daughter, Roper, and by her placed in [redacted] vault of her husband's family, under [redacted] chapel adjoining [redacted] Dunstan's Church in Canterbury. [redacted] body was interred in the chapel of the Tower, but afterwards removed, at the solicitation of that lady, to the parish church of Chelsea, and buried there, in the chancel, [redacted] a [redacted] monument which [redacted] [redacted] some years before erected, with an inscription written by [redacted]

Perhaps of [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] who adorned or

diagramed the age in which he lived we are the most clearly acquainted with the life and character of Sir Thomas More ; and this—though few men have found more biographers, for his life has been ten times separately written and published—we owe chiefly to the perfect candour and sincerity which distinguished him. His acts and his sayings compose the history not only of his conduct but of his motives, and left to those who have written of him only the simple task of collecting facts, to which the fondest partiality could add no further grace, and on which even malice could have cast no

But he lived without enemies, since his death, Bishop Burnet only has dared to write a pen against his memory. In his earnest devotion to the Catholic faith, and to the See of Rome, he was severe only to himself. The fury of conflicting zealots was while they reflected on his virtues ; and when Rome celebrated his canonization with a just honest triumph, the of England looked in approbation. In no presided with more wisdom, learning, perspicacity ; with a more rigid devotion to justice ; or with more vigilance, impartiality, and patience ; when he quitted it, he left not a single cause undecided. The strictness of his loyalty, his magnanimous independence, were always in perfect unison, because they flowed from one and the same source, an honest heart. In all the domestic relations the beauty of his life was unparalleled. Erasmus has left us a glowing picture of him, retired, in Chelsea, in the bosom of his family. The passage has been thus translated : " More hath built London, upon the Thames, such a house neither nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough. There he converseth affably with his family ; his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law ; his three daughters, their husbands ; with eleven grandchildren. There is not any man living so with his children as he, and he loveth his old wife as well as if she were a young maid ; and such is the excellence of his temper, that whatsoever happeneth that

could ■■■ helped, he ■■■ as though nothing ■■■  
 ■■■ happened more happily. You would say there were in  
 that place Plato's academy; but I do the house injury in  
 comparing it to Plato's academy, where there was only dis-  
 putations of numbers, and geometrical figures, and sometimes  
 of moral virtues. I should rather call ■■■ house a school or  
 university of Christian religion, for there is none therein but  
 readeth or studieth the liberal sciences: their special ■■■ is  
 piety ■■■ virtue: there ■■■ no quarrelling, ■■■ intemperate  
 words, heard; ■■■ now idle; which household discipline  
 ■■■ worthy gentleman doth not govern by proud ■■■ haughty  
 words, but with all kind and courteous favour. Every body  
 performeth ■■■ duty, yet there is always alacrity; neither is  
 sober mirth anything wanting."

More himself has proved the correctness of Erasmus's  
 account in the dedication, to ■■■ intimate friend, of his  
 Utopia, by expressions which ■■■ cannot help inserting here,  
 for it is not easy to quit the story of his private life—  
 "Whilst I daily plead other ■■■ causes," says he (to use  
 ■■■ words of his translator) "or hear them, sometimes as ■■■  
 arbitrator, other while ■■■ judge: whilst this ■■■ I visit  
 for friendship, another for business, and whilst I ■■■ employed  
 abroad about other men's matters all the whole day, I leave  
 no time for myself, that is for study: for when ■■■ comes home  
 I ■■■ discourse with my wife; chat with my children;  
 speak ■■■ my servants; and, seeing this ■■■ needs ■■■  
 done, I number it amongst my affairs, and needful they are,  
 unless one would ■■■ a stranger in his ■■■ house: for we  
 ■■■ endeavour ■■■ be ■■■ and pleasing to whom either  
 nature, chance, or choice, hath made our companions; ■■■  
 with such measure it must be done that we don't mar them  
 with affability, or make them of servants our masters, by ■■■  
 much gentle entreaty ■■■ favour. Whilst ■■■ things are  
 doing, a day, a month, a year, passeth. When then can I  
 ■■■ any time to write? for I have not yet spoken of the time  
 that is spent in eating and sleeping, which things alone

bereave most men of half their life. As for me, I got only that spare time which I steal from my meat and sleep ; ~~where~~ because it is but small, I proceed slowly ; yet, being somewhat, I have now at length prevailed so much, as I have finished, and sent unto you, my Utopia."

The chief singularity of his character, was a continual disposition to excessive mirth, and the Lord High Chancellor of England was perhaps the first droll in the kingdom. Lord Herbert, willing, for obvious reasons, to find fault with him, and unable to discover any other ground, censures the levity of his wit ; and Mr. Addison well observes that " what was philosophy in him would have been frenzy in any one who did not resemble him, as well in the cheerfulness of his temper as in the sanctity of his life and manners." Feeling that gaiety was the result of innocence, he seems to have conceived that the active indulgence of it was a moral duty. Among other hints of this remarkable opinion which are scattered in his works, speaking of the Utopian burials, at which he tells us none grieved, he says " when those to whom the deceased was most dear be come home, they rehearse ~~the~~ virtuous manners, and his good deeds, but no part is so oft or gladly talked of as his merry death." That his own was such is well known. ~~He~~ had not been shaved during his long imprisonment, and after he had placed his neck on the block, he raised his hand, and put his beard forward, saying that ~~he~~ should not be cut off, for it had committed no treason. His witticisms are to be still found in abundance even in every ordinary jest-book, and none have been better authen-

~~There~~ Sir Thomas More should have found leisure for most extensive and various exercise of his pen is truly astonishing. In his youth he composed some pieces in English verse, which do him little credit, and would, had they not been his, have been long since forgotten. They are intituled, " A merry jest, how a sargeant would learn to play a frier."— " A rueful lamentation on the death of Elizabeth, wife of

Henry the Seventh."—"Certain metres for the Book of Fortune."—Ballads ■■■■ "Lowyn, ■■■■ lost Lover," ■■■■ "Davy, the dicer,"—and nine ■■■■ of lines, explanatory of ■■■■ many devices painted on certain hangings in his father's house. The first and last of these are supposed to have been his earliest productions. His ■■■■ works, in English, ■■■■ a ■■■■ ■■■■ text "Memorare Novissima, et ■■■■ non peccabis."—A Dialogue, treating of the worship of Images ■■■■ Reliques, praying to Saints, and Pilgrimages, ■■■■ "touching ■■■■ pestilent sects of Luther and Tyndale."—"The Supplication of Soules," written against ■■■■ Fische's popular ■■■■ named "The Supplication of Beggars."—"A Confutation of Tyndale," ■■■■ nine books—"An Apology," in ■■■■ to a book intituled "A Treatise of the division between ■■■■ Spirituality and Temporality."—"The Debellation of ■■■■ Bizance," written ■■■■ reply to an answer to that Apology.—"An Answer to the first part of the poisoned book which ■■■■ Heretic" (John Frith) "hath named 'the Supper ■■■■ Lord.'"—"A Dialogue ■■■■ Comfort against T■■■■■ tion."—"A ■■■■ to receive the ■■■■ body of Christ, sacramentally ■■■■ virtually both."—The ■■■■ Picus, Earl of Mirandola, translated from the Latin; and several letters, ■■■■ many to his family, beautifully illustrative of his character. All these were collected, and published in 1557, in ■■■■ very bulky volume, by ■■■■ sister's son, ■■■■ Rastall, ■■■■ eminent lawyer, together ■■■■ English ■■■■ lation ■■■■ the Utopia.

His Latin works are the lives of Edward the Fifth, and Richard the Third, unfinished, which may be found translated and completed by Bishop Kennet, in ■■■■ ■■■■ general collection extant of English history. The celebrated Utopia, of which twelve editions have been published in its original form, eleven ■■■■ English, two in French, and one in Italian; and several smaller works, most of which were printed together at Louvain, in 1500, namely, "Expositio passionis Domini."—"Precationes ex Palmaria."—"Quod pro ■■■■ more













## QUEEN ANNE BOLINGBROKE

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ABSTRACTED from the great events ■ the origin ■ which ■ unhappy ■ became accidentally a passive instrument, there is little in her story but ■ ■ her sudden elevation and tragical fall to distinguish it from a common tale of private life, and the faint traces which remain of her conduct leave us little room to suppose that the character ■ her mind was of a cast less ordinary. Mild, lively, and thoughtless, ■ ■ to have been formed rather to ■ ■ to maintain affection ; to inspire gaiety and kindness rather than confidence or respect. The barbarous injustice which she experienced has excited the pity of succeeding ages, and our unwillingness to abandon a tender and amiable sentiment has probably prevented any very strict inquiry into her errors. To add the unfounded imputation of another murder to the long catalogue of Henry's crimes seems a more pardonable mistake than to brand, perhaps unjustly, the memory of a most unfortunate woman, whose punishment, if ■ ■ really guilty, had fully expiated her crime.

She ■ ■ eldest daughter of ■ Thomas Bullen, afterwards created Viscount Rochford, and ■ of Wiltshire ■ Ormond, by Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk of his family. ■ may be said, if the account of some French writers be correct, that she had been bred in Courts even from her cradle ; for ■ the age ■ ■ years, say they, she ■ carried to Paris, by Mary, sister to Henry the Eighth, when she became Queen of France ; remained with her till, upon the demise of the King

her husband, the Queen returned to England; was then received into the household of Claude, consort to Francis the First; and, after the death of that Princess, in 1524, lived for some time in the family of Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon and Berry, sister to Francis, and afterwards better known as Queen to Henry the Fourth. Lord Herbert, however, evidently considers her as having attended Mary to France in the character of an efficient domestic, and states, in which he could scarcely have been mistaken, that ■■■ returned in 1522. ■■■ differences ■■■ of small importance. ■■ is certain that not long after her arrival in England she was appointed a Maid of Honour to Catherine of Arragon, and that the King became violently enamoured of her.

■ mutual affection ■■ that time subsisted between her and the Lord Percy, eldest son ■■ the Earl of Northumberland, and they had privately plighted their troth to each other. Henry, who had observed their attachment, and dreaded the result, employed Wolsey, to whose grandeur even the heir of the house of Percy administered as a menial attendant, to break their connection, and the Cardinal called the young ■■■ into his presence; chid him with extreme bitterness; and, having wrung from him the secret of the proposed match, commanded him with more than the authority of ■■ to abandon it. Cavendish, in his ■■■ of Wolsey, gives a curious and lengthened detail of their conversation. Percy having resisted as far as he dared, burst into tears, ■■■ promised obedience, ■■■ the Earl, ■■ father, ■■ summoned from the north to enforce; and Anne, to disguise the King's motive for this interference, which ■■■ then wholly unsuspected, even by herself, was banished from the Court. ■■■ was, however, speedily recalled, ■■ in September, 1532, created Marchioness of Pembroke; Lord Percy was compelled to marry ■■ daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Anne to become the reluctant partaker in ■■ throne: she was privately married to Henry, on the twenty-

succeeding January, by Rowland Lee, Bishop of Coventry, being present the ceremony but her father, mother, and brother; her uncle, Duke of Norfolk; and Cranmer, who lately been advanced to Primacy.

Amidst the extravagance of passion which led to this match, political considerations were not entirely overlooked. Some months before it was solemnised Henry imparted his resolution, which can scarcely be believed in the spirit of mere friendly confidence, to Francis the First, whom he afterwards consulted as to the most proper time and method of publishing his subjects. Francis, who had hatred to the family of the ill-fated Catherine, encouraged it with the utmost earnestness, and in October preceding the marriage received Anne, who accompanied Henry in one of his magnificent visits to the French coast, with distinctions due to a Queen. In the time Wolsey's utter disgrace had been accomplished. He had incurred the loss of which Anne was capable, not only by preventing her union with the man whom she loved, but by endeavouring to destroy the preference bestowed on her by another, whom she held in least indifference. The Cardinal, on the other hand, hated her for her affection to the Protestant persuasion, which she is known to have derived from the person of Margaret of Valois, a Princess of extraordinary talents, and for the influence on the King which she naturally expected her to exert in favour of the reformation. Doubtless she contributed largely to his fall, and it is the only instance that is to be met with in her conduct of departure from the inactive feminine.

Such had been Henry's impatience, that his divorce from Catherine was not fully completed when he married Anne. The definitive sentence was uttered on the twenty-third of May, 1533, when the Queen was in the fifth month of her pregnancy. She was crowned on the first of June, and in the beginning of September (for there are disputes, which



mercie and grace ■ send unto us at this tyme good spede in  
 the delyverance and bringing furthe of a Prince, ■ great  
 joye, rejoyce, and inward comfort of my Lorde, us, and all  
 his good ■ loving subjects of this ■ realme; ■  
 inestymable benevolence we ■ we have noo  
 little cause to give high thanks, laude, and praising, unto our  
 ■ maker, ■ don, mooste lowly, humblis, and  
 w<sup>th</sup> all the inward desire of oure harte. And, inasmuche as  
 we undoubtedly truste that this oure good spede is to y<sup>r</sup> great  
 pleasure, comforte, and consolac<sup>on</sup>, we therefore by ■  
 oure l<sup>r</sup>es ■ you thereof, desiring and hartely praying  
 you ■ give w<sup>th</sup> ■ Almightye ■ high thankes, glorie,  
 laude, and praising, and to praye for the good helth, pros-  
 peritie, and centynnall preserva<sup>con</sup> of the ■ Prince accord-  
 ingly.

■ Given under our Signet, at my Lord's Manor of Grene-  
 wiche, the vii day of Septemb. in the xxv<sup>th</sup> yere of ■  
 Lord's reigne.

■ To our right treatie and  
 welbeloved the Lord Cobh<sup>m</sup>.

Anne's short-lived grandeur subsisted but for three years. Henry had seen Jane Seymour, and determined to possess her. In concerting his measures for the removal of the sole obstacle to his desires, if such a phrase may be applied to steps so summary that they scarcely seem to have been the result of reflection, ■ disdained ■ invent a reasonable tale, or to mask his inhumanity with artifice. On the first of May, 1536, my ■ historians, he was present with the Queen at a tournament at Greenwich, in which her brother, the Viscount Rochford, led the challengers, and Henry Norreys, Esquire, of the body to the King, and Usher of the Black Rod, the defendants. In the midst of the entertainment the King rose, and departed in sullen silence to Westminster, where he gave instant orders for the apprehension of the Queen, Rochford, and Norreys. To account for this extrava-



gance, it has been idly reported that Anne had suddenly awakened his jealousy, by dropping her handkerchief into the lists, which one of the combatants had taken up, and wiped his face with it. So eager was Henry for the execution of his command, that the Queen was arrested on the river by some of the Privy Council, as she returned to London, her first examination actually took place in her barge. She suddenly charged with adultery ; and Norreys, together with Mark Smeton, William Brereton, and Sir Francis Weston, all of the King's Privy Chamber, were denounced as her paramours ; to whom was added, monstrous to tell, her own brother, Rochford, on the accusation of a profligate wife who detested him. She fell into violent hysterics ; at intervals vehemently asserted her innocence ; earnestly begged to be permitted to see the King, which was refused ; and appears to have been conveyed to the Tower in a state of insensibility. There she was questioned by Sir William Kingston, the Constable, who was instructed to sift her in familiar conversation. She talked wildly and incoherently, for her return, is evident from Lord Herbert's account, who says that "as her language was broken and distracted, betwixt tears and laughter, for she used both, little can be inferred thence." That nobleman has inserted in his history a long letter of expostulation, said to have been addressed by her to the King, and dated five days after her arrest, which has been frequently reprinted by subsequent writers, but he expresses a just doubt of its authenticity. It was, indeed, certainly the work of a wiser head, and of a later period.

On the fifteenth of May she was arraigned and tried by the House of Peers, on which occasion, to give a stronger colour to the justice of her accusation, her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, was barbarously appointed to preside as Lord High Steward, and her father, surely not willingly, among her judges. Not a tittle of legal evidence was adduced on her trial, except some loose and uncertain words which had fallen from her during her imprisonment ; but the obedient

██████████ pronounced her guilty, and ██████████ her to die. Spite, however, ██████████ ██████████ abject character which ██████████ that time, some apprehension was formed that the people might resist the execution of ██████████ enormous decree ; for on the nineteenth, very early, Kingston wrote ██████████ to Secretary Cromwell.

“ Sir,

“ If we have ██████████ an hour certain, as it may be known in London, I think there will be but few, and I think a reasonable number were best ; for I suppose she will declare herself to be a good woman for all men but for the King ██████████ the hour of her death ; for this morning she sent for me, and protested her innocency : and now again ; and said to me, ‘ Mr. Kingston, I heard say I shall not die afore noon ; and I am sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by that time, and past my pain.’ I told her it should be no pain it was so sctell. And then she said she heard the executioner was very good ; ‘ and I have a little neck,’ (and put her hand about it) laughing heartily. I have seen many men and women executed, and they have been in great sorrow ; and, to my knowledge, this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death.”

Her expressions, as recited in this letter, for we have never heard ██████████ Anne possessed greatness ██████████ mind, ██████████ of a frenzy, by which it may be hoped that she was accompanied to her last moment. She was beheaded on Tower Hill, a few hours after it was written, and Henry the next day married Jane Seymour.

Little doubt has been at any time entertained of her innocence. Camden, in his cursory remarks on Henry's several marriages, prefixed to his history of the reign of Elizabeth, says, that the King “ falling into new loves, jealousies, rage, and meditating blood and slaughter, that he might make way for the new fancy he had for Jane Seymour, he called Queen ██████████ to her trial, accusing her, upon a slight suspicion, of adultery, after she had miscarried of a male child she went

Queen Anne cleared herself so far that the multitude that stood by judged her to be innocent and merely circumvented; nevertheless, her Peers condemned her," &c. Herbert, with a more cautious expression, which, however, little disguises his opinion, tells us that "she was thought both moderate in her desires, and of discretion enough to be trusted with her own perfections, as having lived, in the French Court first, and afterwards in this, with the reputation of a virtuous lady; inasmuch that the whisperings of her enemies could not divert the King's good opinion of her, though yet he was in his own nature more jealous than to be satisfied easily. 'I do reject all those, therefore,' says Herbert, 'that would speak against her honour in those times they staid in France. But I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her affairs at this time. It is enough that the law hath condemned her; and that whether she, or any one else, were in fault is not now to be discussed. This is certain: that the King had cast his affection already on Jane Seymour, then attending on the Queen. But whether this alone were enough to procure that tragedy which followed may be doubted in this Prince; for I do not find him bloody but where law, or at least pretext drawn from thence, did countenance his actions."









## QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR.

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THE history of a young woman suddenly elevated from a private station to a throne, from which she was snatched by a premature death, when she had graced it for little more than a single year, cannot reasonably be expected to contain many circumstances worthy notice. Wife of a King, and mother of another, we find little else remarkable in the life of Jane Seymour, except that she became the accidental and inactive instrument of raising her family, already of great antiquity, to the highest degree of rank and power that could be conferred on subjects.

She was the eldest of the four daughters of Sir John Seymour, of Wolfe Hall, in Wiltshire, Knight, Groom of the Chamber to Henry the Eighth, and Governor of Bristol, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Wentworth, of Nettlestead, in Suffolk. Her connections and accomplishments procured for her the office of a Maid of Honour to Anne Bullen, and her beauty made her the innocent cause of her mistress's ruin. Henry conceived a sudden passion for her, and became disgusted with Anne. Equally a stranger to sensibility and to morals, his attachment to her soon became irresistible, and his aversion to the Queen increased to a degree of dislike little short of hatred. He determined to make Jane his wife: and the gratification of his desire was easy to one who was above the ties of law, and to whom those of conscience were unknown. The unhappy Anne was accused of adultery, and put to death, and was an unfeeling widower, on the very day, or according to some, on the third



day, after her execution, profaned the altar by pledging ■■■■ vows to Jane Seymour. This union, according to all our historians, took place in the last week of May, 1536; and on the eighth of the following month the Parliament passed an act to settle the Crown on its issue, either male ■■ female, in exclusion of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. The issue of Jane, ■■ least, ■■■■ named: but, such was the abject submission of that body to Henry's pleasure, that the same act in ■■■■ conclusion gave him full power to name whomsoever he might think fit for his successor.

About fifteen months after her marriage, Queen Jane was delivered of a son, the admirable Edward the ■■■■. The variance and confusion of historical reports as to the date ■■ the birth of that Prince are very strange. All agree that ■■ happened in 1537; but Hayward fixes it to the seventeenth of October; Sanders to the tenth; and most others, rightly, as we shall see presently, to the twelfth of that month. The following letter from ■■■■ Collection, which ■■■■ doubtless circular, to Sheriffs of Counties, &c., would furnish, if it were wanted, an additional authority for the last of ■■■■ dates, as it may be reasonably presumed to have been written as soon as possible after the birth of the child.

"BY THE QUEEN.

"Trustie and welbeloved, we grete you well; and, forasmuche as by the inestimable goodness and grace of Almighty God we be delivered and brought in childbed of a Prince, conceived in most lawfull matrimonie between my Lord the King's Majestie and us; doubtinge not but, for the love and affection which ye beare unto us, and to the ■■■■ of this realme, the knowledge thereof should be joyous and glad tydeings unto you, we have thought good to certifie you of the same, to th' intent you might not onely render ■■■■ God condigne thanks and praise for soe great a benefit but alsoe for the longe continuance and preservac<sup>on</sup> of the same ■■■■ in ■■■■ life, to the honour of God, joy and pleasure of

my Lord the Kinge, and us, and the universall weale, quiett, and tranquillitie of this hole realme.

"Given under our Signet, att my Lord's Manner of Hampton Court, the xii<sup>th</sup> day of October.

"To our trustie and welbeloved  
George Boothe, Esquier."

The joy excited by this event was soon abated by the [redacted] of the Queen. It has been said [redacted] [redacted] found necessary to bring the infant into the world by that terrible method called the Cæsarian operation; and Sir John Hayward, who in composing [redacted] [redacted] of Edward [redacted] [redacted] undoubtedly sought the [redacted] with all possible industry, positively states the fact. Other writers, but I know not on what ground, have treated that report as an idle tale, invented by the papists, in malice to Henry. [redacted] is true that Sanders, one of the most bitter writers on that side, tells us that the physicians were of opinion that either the mother or the child must perish; that they put the question to the king, which should [redacted] spared, the Queen or his son? and that he answered, his son, because he [redacted] easily find other wives. The latter part of [redacted] reply [redacted] certainly very much [redacted] air of a malicious invention, for Henry, amidst all his crimes, was an accomplished gentleman; but whether [redacted] anecdote be true or false, [redacted] does not clear [redacted] the point in question. A very short report to the Privy Council of the birth of [redacted] Prince, by her physicians, is extant, in which they [redacted] [redacted] the Queen had been *happily* delivered, and it has been argued [redacted] that the birth could not have been attended by any peculiarly melancholy circumstance; but the word "*happily*" may perhaps be more properly referred to the production of a living child, a first-born son, and heir to the Crown, than to the state [redacted] the mother. Whatsoever may tend to correctness as to such a fact cannot, historically speaking, be deemed insignificant; I trust therefore to be excused for having been [redacted] minute on a disagreeable subject.

The date of the Queen's death, as well as that of the birth of the Prince, has been variously stated. Most of our historians fix it to the fourteenth of October, following probably Lord Herbert, who says that she was delivered on the twelfth, and departed two days after; but the official record in the College of Arms of the ceremonies of her funeral informs us clearly on both points; for the title or preamble of it is in these words: "An ordre taken and made for the enterrement of the most high, most excellent, and most Chrysten Pryncesse, Jane, Queene of England and of Fraunce, Lady of Ireland, and mother to the most noble and puyssant prince Edward; which decasyd at Hampton Courte, the xxix.<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of our most dread Sovereigne Lord Kyng Henry the eight, her most dearest husband, the xxiii.<sup>th</sup> day of Octobres, beyng Wedynsday, at nyght, xii of the month; and departing was the twelf day after the byrthe of the said Prynce, her Grace baying in childbed. Whose departing was as hevy as hath ben hard of many a yere heretofore, for she was a very gracious Lady, havynge the love of all people." This document, which is of great length, informs us that she was buried at Windsor with the utmost pomp. Among other curious information, it discloses two very remarkable facts—that all the various devout services which were performed daily for near a month before the funeral, as well as on the day itself, were strictly after the order of the Romish ritual; and that the lately degraded and disinherited Princess Mary officiated as chief mourner.









## SIR NICHOLAS CAREW.

NICHOLAS, a cadet of one of the junior lines of the ancient baronial [redacted] of Carra, or Carew, of Devonshire, [redacted] [redacted] Beddington, in Surrey, on considerable property acquired by marriage early in the fourteenth century, [redacted] from him the gentleman whose portrait is here presented was fifth in descent. He was the only son of Sir Richard Carew, a Knight Banneret, and [redacted] of Calais, by Magdalen, daughter of Sir Robert Oxenbridge, of Ford, in Sussex, and, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] father, on the twenty-third [redacted] May, 1520, inherited from [redacted] [redacted] in Surrey, which had gradually increased to so vast an extent that [redacted] [redacted] still traditionally reported in the neighbourhood of [redacted] family mansion that [redacted] might [redacted] ridden [redacted] [redacted] from it [redacted] any direction without quitting [redacted] own land. [redacted] personally powerful, descended from a family already well known [redacted] the Crown, which [redacted] [redacted] his [redacted] ancestors had served either in the Court or State, and in [redacted] prime [redacted] manhood and high spirit, he fell as [redacted] were naturally into [redacted] glittering [redacted] which the chivalrous character of the early years of Henry's reign attracted to the person [redacted] the Monarch, and presently acquired considerable favour.

He [redacted] appointed, about [redacted] year 1518, a Gentleman of [redacted] Privy Chamber, an office of which the [redacted] only [redacted] remains in the royal household, but which was then invested with equal trust and dignity: and was soon after employed by Henry [redacted] transacting [redacted] affairs, probably relating [redacted] military matters, at Paris. There, during a residence of



several months, the elegant manners and fashions of that court are said to have inspired him with a disgust to the comparative rudeness of his own, which on his return he declared on several occasions with a plainness so offensive to the high nobility, and to the King himself, that Henry resolved to remove him from his person, and commanded him to repair to Ruysbanc, in Picardy, a fortress belonging to the English, of which, to save the appearance of disgrace, he was appointed governor. This umbrage however was transient for in 1521 he had so completely regained the good graces of his Master as to obtain the high distinction of the Garter, and in 1524 was raised to the post of Master of the Horse, and nominated Lieutenant of Calais. A living writer of much respectability has, by a strange anachronism, ascribed these promotions to the influence of Anna Bullen, who was related to him, through a common ancestor, the Lord Hoo and Hastings; but Anne was then a child, and probably wholly unknown to the King, to whom she was not married till 1532.

He now approached to the station of a favourite; was Henry's constant companion in all the splendid and romantic sports of his court; administered successfully to his pleasures, and was not without some secret share in his counsels. Fifteen years had thus passed in unremitting favour, when in December, 1538, he was suddenly arrested, charged as a party with Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, and other eminent persons, in a design to depose the King, and to place Cardinal Pole on the Throne; and was beheaded on the third of March, in the following year.

History affords us very little information on the subject of this mysterious plot, and yet less of the part which Carew was alleged to have taken in it, and, in the absence of regular and correct intelligence, invention and conjecture will ever be the work to supply the deficiency. Thus Fuller says, to use his own quaint terms, that "tradition in the family reporteth how King Henry, then at bowls, gave this Knight

opprobrious language, betwixt jest and earnest, to which the other returned an answer rather true than discreet, as more consulting therein his own animosity than allegiance. The King, who in this sort would give and not take, being no good fellow in tart repartees, was so highly offended therewith, that Sir Nicholas fell from the top of his favour to the bottom of his displeasure, and was bruised to death thereby. This was the true cause of his execution, though in our chronicles all is scored on his complying in a plot with Henry, Marquis of Exeter, and Henry Lord Montague." Lord Herbert, who seems to have told all that could be gathered on the subject, informs us that these two noblemen were guilty before Thomas Lord Audley, "for the present sitting as High Steward of England," and that, "not long after, Sir Edward Neville, Sir Geoffrey Pole, two priests, and a mariner, were arraigned, and found guilty also, and judgment given accordingly. The two lords and Neville were beheaded; the two priests and mariner hanged and quartered at Tyburn, and Sir Geoffrey pardoned." Having thus particularised, even to the meanest, a number of the conspirators who were convicted under this form, at least, of judicial proceeding, the noble writer immediately adds, "Sir Nicholas Carew also, Knight of the Garter, and Master of the Horse to the King, for being of council with the said Marquis, was beheaded." It should seem then that Carew was brought to no trial. Lord Herbert concludes, "The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully known to me that I can say much; only I find among our records that Thomas Wriotheasley, Secretary, then at Brussels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyat, then his Highness's Ambassador in Spain, said that the accusations were great, and duly proved; and in another place I read that they sent the Cardinal money." Hollingahed tells us that Sir Nicholas, at the time of his death, "made a godly confession both of his fault and his superstitious faith." He had been throughout his life a steady professor of the faith

of the Romish Church, and this, whatever were the offences for which he suffered, doubtless added no small weight to

Sir ~~Thomas~~ Carew was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldgate, in the family vault of the Lords Darcy of the North, to whose house, as we shall see presently, he was ~~related~~. He married Elizabeth, daughter, and at length heir, of Sir Thomas Bryan, son and heir of Sir Thomas Bryan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and had by her one son, Sir Francis, and four daughters; Elizabeth, wife to a gentleman of the name of Hall; Mary, married to Sir Arthur Darcy, second son of Thomas Lord Darcy of the North; Anne, first to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, of Paulersperry, in the county of Northampton, secondly to Adrian Stokes; and Isabella, to Nicholas Saunders, son and heir of Sir William Saunders, of Ewell in Surrey, cofferer to Queen Mary. Sir Francis recovered, probably through the favour of Elizabeth, to whom he was personally known, and who graced his fine mansion at Beddington with the fearful honour of more than one visit, a great part of the estates which had been forfeited by the attainder of his father. He died a bachelor, and bequeathed them to his nephew Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, youngest son of his sister Anne, directing him to assume, as he did, the surname and arms of Carew. The descendants of the elder line from that gentleman became extinct in a female, Catherine Carew, who died in 1769, when the estates passed, under a settlement made by the will of her father, Sir Nicholas Hacket Carew, Baronet, first, to the heir male of the Fountayne, of Melton in Yorkshire, secondly, to that of the family of Gee, of Orpington, in Kent, each descended by female lines from the subject of this memoir. Both these remainders have now failed, and the estates are possessed by the relict of the late Richard Gee, Esq., whose elder brother assumed the surname of Carew, under the authority of an act of Parliament.









## THOMAS CROMWELL,

1599-1659.

HENRY the Eighth, in the great work of the Reformation, employed men of various characters and powers, and sagaciously assigned to each that share of the task for which he was best qualified. ■ was allotted therefore to Cromwell to spring the mine which others had secretly dug, and he accomplished ■ with ■ ■ vigour and celerity, which seemed to be the effect of zeal, while his heart and mind were wholly unconcerned. Cromwell was more remarkable for courage than prudence; for activity ■■ perseverance than for reflection: nature, habit, and self-interest had combined ■■ render him implicitly obedient; ■■ gratitude, perhaps, for his extraordinary elevation had inspired him with an inflexible fidelity to his master. ■ soldier of fortune, a citizen of the world; unbiassed by parental example, or ■■ affections; by prejudice of education, ■■ solitary enthusiasm: indifferent about modes of religious faith, and ignorant of political systems; he fell into the hands of Henry at the very moment when such a man was peculiarly necessary to the accomplishment of his views; performed the service required of him; and, but for the singularity and importance of that service, would perhaps long since have been nearly forgotten.

He was the son of Walter Cromwell, a blacksmith, and afterwards ■ brewer, of Putney, in Surrey, and it has been commonly reported that his mother was a Welshwoman of



the name of Williams; but Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, denies this, and very reasonably traces the error to its probable origin. This author conceives that a son of Cromwell married a Williams; for, as he truly tells us, Cromwell had a nephew of that name, whom he brought into considerable favour and confidence with the King, and who afterwards assumed the designation of Williams alias Cromwell. This nephew, by some way, at length wholly disused the former surname; founded a respectable family in Huntingdonshire; and became grandfather to the usurper Oliver, a fact which has been denied by some respectable writers, but of which there is scarcely room to doubt. Thomas, born of such parents, received, as might be reasonably expected, a very narrow education; but he had learned Latin; the New Testament in which language, "gotten by heart," to use the words of Lloyd, "was his masterpiece of scholarship;" and this renders it very probable that it was first intended to foster him on the monastic bounty of that church, in the destruction of which he afterwards had so large a share. Be this as it might, there can be little doubt that from that, or some other destination, he ran away, to use a familiar phrase, from his family, for we find him suddenly in a foreign country, without friends, money, or views. At length he obtained employment and subsistence as a clerk in an English factory at Antwerp, which he soon quitted, and wandered from thence to Rome, with two Englishmen, who in 1610 were deputed from a religious society at Boston, in Lincolnshire, to solicit the renewal of certain indulgences, or pardons, as they were called, from Pope Julius the Second. He is said to have been highly instrumental to the good fortune of this mission, and Fox, in a long narration, which must rest on the credit of that singular writer, ascribes his success to a ridiculous circumstance. The Pope, according to Fox, took the money which the good Lincolnshire gentlemen had brought with them, but the fate of their petition remained long in suspense; till Cromwell having learned that

Holiness was a great epicure, "furnished him with jelly, after the English fashion, unknown Italy," which boon was presently granted. remained long abroad, variously employed, and served as a soldier, or officer of ordinary rank, under the Duke of Bourbon, and is said to have been present at the sacking of Rome by that prince; but here seems to be an anachronism; for that event occurred in 1527, and it is certain that he had returned to England, and been retained by Wolsey two years before that date.

During his residence in Italy he an opportunity dering an important service to John Russell, afterwards Earl of Bedford, who that time resided Bologna, charged by Henry with secret mission adverse to the French interest. A plan had been laid to seize the person of that gentleman, and to send him a prisoner to Paris. Cromwell discovered it; and not only apprised him of it, but assisted him in making a precipitate escape. It is highly probable that Russell recommended him to the Cardinal, into whose family he received immediately after that period, in the character, say all who have written concerning him, of that prelate's solicitor; meaning, I presume, as a steward, agent such of affairs as did not relate to the state. capacity he largely employed in 1525, in superintending the erection and endowment of Wolsey's two colleges at Ipswich and Oxford, and in suppressing small monasteries, by of which was intended to maintain them. He became soon after a member of the House of Commons, when articles exhibited against Cardinal in were sent down House from Peers, defended him against charge of treason with equal boldness and "From honest beginning," Lord Herbert, "Cromwell obtained his reputation." soon, however, assumed a tone. Henry, at the recommendation, as it said, Sir John Russell, and Christopher Hales, afterwards Master of the Rolls, took him

nearly at that point of time into his service; and we find [redacted] lately disgraced patron presently after "importuning him," to use the words of the same noble author, "to induce the King," so great already was his influence, to spare the [redacted] colleges, "since," said Wolsey, "they are in a *summa opera manuum tuarum*." Cromwell answered that "the King was determined to suppress them, though perhaps he might refund them in his own name; and coldly wished Wolsey to be content."

It has been said that he gained Henry's grace by disclosing to him the oath taken by the Romish clergy, "to help, retain, and defend, against all men, the rights of the Holy See," &c., and representing to him that it was in fact a virtual dispensation from their oath of allegiance to him. [redacted] Henry already well knew that it was their practice to subscribe to such an obligation, and had considered its effect. [redacted] then, adds Fox, who tells us so, "he declared also to the King now [redacted] Majesty might accumulate great riches; nay, as much as all the clergy in his realm were worth, if he pleased to take the occasion now offered;" and we may reasonably suppose that the King, in whose bosom the plan of dissolving the religious houses then secretly rested, must have been highly gratified by such advice from a man to whom he had probably already determined to entrust much of the execution [redacted] his scheme, [redacted] ripe for disclosure. Cromwell's [redacted] employment [redacted] a [redacted] favourable proof of the subservieney and the firmness which Henry had hoped to find in him. He was ordered to endeavour to threaten the clergy, then sitting in convocation, into an acknowledgment of the King's supremacy, and to obtain from them a large sum, as a commutation [redacted] punishment for having supported Wolsey's legatine power, [redacted] for having taken the oath lately [redacted] tioned. [redacted] succeeded in both, and extorted one hundred thousand pounds from the province of Canterbury, and nearly twenty thousand from that of York. This occurred in 1531. His favour now became visible to all. [redacted] was knighted in

that year ; sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Master of the King's Jewel House ; and in the next, Clerk of the Hanaper, a profitable office in the Chancery, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1534 he became Master of the Rolls, and a principal Secretary of State, and was about the same time Chancellor of the University of Cambridge ; in 1535 at length appeared publicly in the great part which he was to perform in the Reformation, with the newly invented title of Visitor-general of the Monasteries throughout England.

Spiritual pride is almost unknown to the Church of England. It may therefore be said, without offence, that the object of Cromwell's visitation was the discovery of abuses which might render the monastic institutions odious or contemptible, and so to furnish pretexts for their dissolution ; and that it was marked by the most frightful instances of cruelty, baseness, and treachery. For these charges have the authority of very respectable protestant writers. The principals of religious houses induced to surrender by threats ; those of others by pensions ; and, when both those methods failed, the most profligate monks sought for, and bribed their governors, and their brethren, of horrible crimes. Agents were employed to violate nuns, and then to accuse them, and, by inference, their respective societies, of incontinence. All who were engaged in this wretched mission took money of the terrified sufferers, as the price of a forbearance which it was in their power to grant ; and Cromwell himself accepted of great sums from several monasteries, to save them from that ruin which he alone knew to be inevitably decreed. He executed his commission, however, entirely to Henry's satisfaction, and received the most splendid rewards. On the second of July, 1536, he was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal ; on the ninth of the same month the dignity of Baron was conferred on him, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okham, in the county of Rutland ; on the eighteenth,

the Pope's supremacy being now fully abolished, and King declared Head of the Church, he was constituted Vicar-general and Viceroy over all the Spirituality, and took his place in the convocation, sitting there above all the prelates, as the immediate representative of the King. This appointment was the signal for the total overthrow of the Roman Catholic establishment. Cromwell's first act under its authority was the publication of certain articles for the government of the church, by which some of the most important points of the old faith were specifically rejected. the seven sacraments, three only were retained; those of baptism, penance, and the altar. Preachers were enjoined to teach the people to confine their belief wholly to the Bible, and the three Creeds, and to restrain them from the worship of images, or saints so represented; and the doctrine of purgatory was denied, or, at least, declared to be uncertain and unnecessary. These articles were immediately followed by the prohibition of worship in the Latin tongue, and by the translation of the Holy Scriptures into English; inestimable benefits, for which our gratitude is justly due to Cromwell, as well as for the great temporal advantage of parish registers, which were at the same time ordained to be kept, solely, as it is believed, on his suggestion.

He was now loaded with new rewards. In 1637, Henry appointed him Justice of the Forests north of Trent, and, on the twenty-sixth of August in that year, gave him the Order of the Garter. In 1639 the castle and lordship of Okeham were granted to him, and the office of Constable of Okeham brook Castle; and, on the seventeenth of April, 1639, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Essex, and to the office of Lord High Chamberlain; having on the tenth of the same month been invested with the lands of the dissolved monasteries of Owyth's Barking, Bileigh, John Colchester, and other estates in the county of Essex, consisting of thirty manors; and with extensive possessions in those of Norfolk and Suffolk, among which was the large demesne of

the Grey [redacted] Yarmouth ; together [redacted] a multitude [redacted] manors, lands, and advowsons, in other parts of England, all from the spoil of the discarded church.

Cromwell, however, thus in the [redacted] of [redacted] greatness, tottered on the brink of ruin. Already hated by the nobility, who viewed him as a base intruder on [redacted] order ; by the priesthood, whom he had ruined ; and by the poor, whom he [redacted] deprived of the comforts of monastic hospitality and bounty ; he became now an object also of the keenest envy and jealousy. [redacted] great house of Vere had been [redacted] long graced by the superb office of Lord Chamberlain, which [redacted] been successively granted to the Earls of Oxford of that name in succession, even for centuries, that they felt deprived as it [redacted] of an inheritance when it [redacted] bestowed [redacted] him ; and the meanness of his origin aggravated their sense of the injury. The family of Bouchier, many branches of which remained, were equally mortified to see the Earldom of Essex diverted from their very ancient blood to that of the son of a smith. The Howards, always powerful, and just then most powerful ; and bishop Gardiner, who as an enemy [redacted] in himself a host, and whose favour with Henry [redacted] increasing, detested him. To ward off this danger, he endeavoured to conciliate the people ; and to that end procured a commission to be erected for the sale, at twenty years' purchase, of such abbey lands as yet remained with the crown : meanwhile, to divert the attention [redacted] Henry from the representations [redacted] his enemies, he engaged that Prince in a treaty of marriage with Anne of Cleves, whose Lutheran seal he hoped successfully [redacted] to his Catholic adversaries, [redacted] whose gratitude [redacted] conducting [redacted] to so splendid a [redacted] [redacted] expected [redacted] to himself. The King married her with indifference, and quitted her the next day, with disappointment, and even loathing ; but the great weight of his resentment [redacted] on Cromwell, by whom he had been persuaded to wed her.

Henry, from [redacted] hour, [redacted] [redacted] aversion, [redacted]

agreed, with his usual readiness on such occasions, to sacrifice a man who had no further extraordinary services to render to him. Cromwell was suddenly arrested at the Council Board, by the Duke of Norfolk, on the tenth of January, 1540, and conducted to the Tower; and, on the nineteenth of that month, a bill of attainder against him passed the House of Lords, but was received so coolly by the Commons that they let it remain with them, with little discussion, for ten days, and at length testified their disapprobation of it by returning it to the Upper House, to which at the same time they sent another, prepared by themselves, which the Peers eagerly adopted. Amidst the articles of this new bill not one can be found to amount, even by the most forced construction, to treason; still it was a bill of attainder, and Cromwell, who so well knew his master, prepared for the worst. He addressed himself, however, in great length from his prison to Henry, imploring that his life might be spared; and Cranmer seconded his endeavours with remarkable and freedom of terms, by a remonstrance, Lord Herbert has preserved. Cromwell's letter betrays a miserable abjectness of spirit, and a remarkable poverty of thought and expression; Cranmer's abounds with that nobleness and magnanimity which equally adorned his character, "Wher I have bene accusy'd," writes Cromwell, "to your Magestye of treason, to that I say I never in alle my lyfe thought wyllingly to do that thyng that myght or shold displease your Magestye; and much lesse to do or say that thyng which of itself is of so high and abhominable offence, as God knowyth, who I doubt not shall reveale the trewthe to your Highnes. Myne accusers your Grace knowyth: God forgive them. For, as I have ever had love to your honor, person, lyfe, prosperitie, helthe, welthe, joy, and comfort; and also your most dere and most entyerly belovyd sone, the Prynce his Grace, and your procedyngs; God so helpe me in this myne adversaite, and confound yf ever I thought the contrary. What labors, paynes, and travailes, I have taken, accordyng

■ my most ■ deuty, God also knowyth: for, yf it were in my power, as it is in God's, to make your Magestye live ever young and prosperous, ■ knoweth I woulde. If ■ hadde bene or were in my power to make your Magestye so puyasant as all the world sholde be compellyd to obey yow, Christ ■ knowth I wulde, for so am I of all other most bounde; for your Magestye hath bene the most ■ Prynce to me that ■ Kyng to his subject—ye, ■ like a dere father (your Magestye not offended) than a master. ■ bene your ■ grave and godly counsaile towards me at sundry tymes. ■ that I have offended I ax yow mercy. ■ I now, for such exceeding goodness, benygnyte, liberalitie, and bounty, be your traytor, nay then the greatest paynes ■ too little for me. Should any fa-cyon, or any affeccyon to any point make me a traytor to your Magestye, then all the devylls in hell confound me, ■ the vengeance of God light upon me, yf I sholde once have thought yt, most gracious Soverayn Lord," &c.

While Cromwell thus essayed to move the compassion of Henry by clumsily flattering ■ ruling appetites, Cranmer, with ■ noble simplicity, and with an anxiety to serve his friend which almost demands pardon for ■ impious ■ precession into which ■ betrayed him, writes thus:—"Who cannot but be sorrowfull and amazed that he sholde be ■ traytor against your Majesty? He ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ advanced by your Majesty; he who lov'd your Majesty, ■ I ■ ■ ■ ■ thought, ■ less than God; he who studyed always ■ sett forward whatsoever ■ your Majestie's will and pleasure; ■ ■ ■ caryd for ■ man's displeasuer to ■ ■ ■ your Majesty; ■ that ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ such a servant, in ■ judgement, in wisdom, diligence, faythefulness, and experyence, as ■ Prynce in ■ realme ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your Majesty from all treasons, that fewe colde ■ so secretly conceyved but he detected the same in the begynnyng! If ■ noble Prynces, of happy memory, Kyng John, Henry III, ■ Richard II, had had such a counsaylor about them, I



suppose they should never have been so traitorously abandoned and overthrown as those good Prynces were," &c. Henry, however, remained unmoved by these, or any other remonstrances; and Cromwell was beheaded on Tower Hill on the twenty-eighth of July, 1540.

It has been asserted that this remarkable man also married a person of the name of Williams, but this is very uncertain. Whomever might have been his wife, he left by her an only son, Gregory, who was created Baron Cromwell of Okeham on the same day that his father was advanced to the Earldom of Essex; who married Elizabeth, a sister of Queen Jane Seymour; and in whose posterity the title of Lord Cromwell remained for several generations.









## MARGARET TUDOR,

QUEEN OF [REDACTED]

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In all respects but one the character of this lady seems to have borne to that of her brother, Henry the Eighth of England, a remarkable similarity. Haughty, magnificent, [REDACTED] luxurious; officiously [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] of state, [REDACTED] governing without a system; capricious in her politics, but obstinately impenetrable by persuasion; highly amorous, but totally insensible to the delicacies of the tender passion, and not less versatile in her amours than careless of [REDACTED] public opinion of her inconstancy; like him, she lived neither beloved nor respected, and died wholly unregretted. She was [REDACTED] however cruel. During twenty-eight years [REDACTED] power, sometimes nearly unlimited, sometimes abridged, but always in no small degree existing, not a drop of blood appears to have been shed by her order, or even with her connivance. Like her brother, she possessed an understanding at once solid and lively, with much of [REDACTED] mental refinement, nameless in her time, which has been since distinguished by the appellation of taste. There was a striking likeness too in their countenances. Those to whom the portraits of the youthful Henry are familiar cannot but perceive the resemblance.

[REDACTED] is scarcely necessary to say that she was the eldest daughter of Henry the Seventh, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward the Fourth. There is some variance in the accounts of the date of her birth, but the best authorities fix it to the

twenty-ninth of November, 1489. Her father, who was yet in the cradle, was offered to offer her to James the Fourth of Scotland, and, with the view of detaching that prince from a treaty into which he had been tempted by the Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Louis the Fourth, in favour of the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck, proposed the marriage in form when she had scarcely reached her sixth year. James refused; invaded the English border, accompanied by Perkin; and Henry, with the patient and persevering policy which usually marked his measures, contented himself with a steady defence, and, when James the Fourth King of Scots entered into his own dominions, reiterated the offer. A negotiation of more than three years succeeded, during which the monarchs pledged themselves to an amity for their joint lives, and on the eighth of August, 1503, the marriage was at length celebrated at Edinburgh. Such was then the value of money, that the portion of the royal bride was no more than ten thousand pounds; her jointure, in case of widowhood, two thousand annually; and the yearly allowance for her establishment as Queen Consort, only £1000. The nuptials however were distinguished by the most gorgeous splendour and festivity, of which, as well as the Princess's journey from London to Edinburgh, a particular and very curious account, in the way of diary, by John Young, Somerset Herald, who attended her, is published in Leland's Collectanea, from the original manuscript remaining in the College of Arms.

For ten years after her marriage, the name of Margaret scarcely figures in history. Between her husband and herself a mutual tenderness seems to have subsisted, which withdrew him from the vague and transient amours in which he had been used to indulge, while it rendered her indifferent to the details of public affairs, and the intrigues of factions. The death of her father, in 1509, was the prelude to important changes in the political relations of the two countries. Henry the Eighth however renewed the compact which had been

dissolved by the demise of his predecessor, and more than two years passed in profound peace, when a variety of minute causes, some of them merely of a private and domestic nature, produced ~~some~~ discords. ~~Some~~ negotiations succeeded, in which ~~the~~ moderation of Henry, who ~~was~~ not yet a tyrant, and the impetuosity of James, were equally conspicuous. A new war at length took place, which terminated in the decisive battle of Flodden, and, on the ninth of September, 1513, rendered Margaret a widow. ~~Her~~ consort, ~~the~~ ~~young~~ and popular Prince, who, ~~by~~ his prudence kept pace with his good intentions, would have established a splendid fame, fell in the forty-first year of his age, leaving, of several, only ~~one~~ legitimate child, James, ~~his~~ successor, ~~at~~ that time ~~not~~ more than twelve months old.

The King by his will appointed Margaret, now in the twenty-fourth year of her ~~age~~ to the Regency, and his nomination ~~was~~ confirmed by a parliamentary council, composed of such of the nobility as ~~had~~ escaped the late terrible encounter, together with the heads of the clergy. ~~Their~~ decision, though apparently unanimous, invested her, however, but with a precarious authority. The influence of France, which had been ~~for~~ more than a century gradually increasing in Scotland, ~~was~~ warmly ~~in~~ favour ~~of~~ John Stuart, Duke of Albany, ~~the~~ cousin to ~~the~~ deceased King, ~~the~~ presumptive ~~heir~~ ~~to~~ the throne, whose whole ~~life~~ had been passed in France, whither his father had been exiled by James the Third, his elder brother. A party presently embodied ~~themselves~~ to support ~~his~~ interest, ~~the~~ Henry, unaccountably deviating from the character of ~~his~~ nature, ~~as~~ well ~~as~~ from ~~that~~ of his usual policy regarding Scotland, left his ~~own~~ authority unaided either by ~~arms~~ or negotiation. This forbearance, if we could suspect Henry of the ~~same~~ fault of over-pliancy, might be fairly ascribed to her persuasion. She informed him of the measures which were in agitation for placing Albany at ~~the~~ ~~head~~ of ~~the~~ government; declared her indifference to the success of them; and even



requested his mediation to promote a good understanding between herself and Albany, and those by whom his pretensions had been forwarded. Her motive, however, presently

Margaret, immediately after her husband's death, perhaps even before it, had abandoned herself to an indiscreet marriage, her pregnant of a son, who received the name of Alexander; was created Duke of Ross; and in the second year of his age; and she scarcely recovered from the natural abatement of health which followed the birth of this child, when to the surprise and regret of the whole kingdom, she suddenly married James Douglas, of Angus, an almost beardless youth, much distinguished among his compeers by his ignorance and inexperience as by the graces of his person and manners. By the law of Scotland, as well as the terms of the late King's will, the fact of this imprudent union abrogated her Regency, but the penalty was not enforced. Angus derived considerable power from his great domains; and others among the prime nobility, enemies to Albany, and to the French interest, still lent their support to her tottering rule. That prince, virtually Regent, unaccountably delayed his voyage for nearly a year; the country became distracted by factions; and it was perhaps in this period that Henry first meditated to subjugate it by artifice. While Margaret, irritated by daily insults, pressed him to march his army into Scotland to her relief, he exhorted her to fly with her children to England, but she rejected from fear, mixed perhaps with better motives, an expedient which doubtless would have deluged Scotland with blood. Albany at length arrived in the spring of 1515, and was received by her with a complacency which, considering the difficulties of her situation, was probably in some degree unaffected, but she denied her own mere politeness due to her rank and her sex. He removed from her, by the harshest exertions of his new authority, her former favoured servants, and prevailed on the parliament to depute certain peers to demand

of her the custody of her children. She received the principal gate of Edinburgh Castle, her jointure mansion, holding young King by hand, her brother, a helpless infant, appeared near her nurse's. As they approached cried, "Stand—declare cause of your coming." They disclosed their commission; when she instantly commanded to let the portcullis, and addressed them from within. "This palace is part of my enfeoffment, and by it by my late husband the King was I made the sole governess, nor to any mortal shall I yield the important command; but I respect the Parliament and nation, and request six days to consider their mandate; the consequence is my charge, and my counsellors now, alas! few." Margaret giving proof of a noble and daring spirit, the dastardly Angus gratuitously testified, in due form of law, that he had besought the Queen surrender her infants, compliance with the requisition of the Regent and the Parliament.

Margaret retired with her sons to the castle of Stirling, a fortress of some strength, and on the fifth day demanded of the Regent that they should be left in her custody offering to maintain them her dowry. This suit was rejected, and Albany, with a force of some thousand men, proceeded to besiege the castle. The infant King and his brother were forced from her arms, and placed in the hands of some noblemen devoted to the Regent, while the Queen re-conducted respectfully, but not without apparent captivity, to Edinburgh. Angus, whom the Regent held in the detestation, led into his own country, and, joining Lord Home, appeared in arms against Albany, who, in part, endeavoured to soothe Margaret with insincere negotiation, and, on her disdainful rejection of overtures, compelled her to write to the Pope and the King of France, declaring her approbation of the government. A victim thus once to fraud, to violence, to her folly; stripped of her revenues, and suffer-

ing even almost the utmost evils of poverty, she managed to concert with Lord Dacre, Warden of the English Marches, the means of escaping into her own country. Henry agreed to receive her, and however indignant at her marriage, permitted Angus to accompany her. Amidst danger, and in hourly expectation of childbirth, she arrived in England the tenth of October, 1515, and delivered eight days after, at Harbottle, in Northumberland, of a daughter, Margaret, who became at length the wife of Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, and progenetrix of a long line of royalty, which yet happily remains.

The Queen, suffering under the usual consequences of the event, and oppressed by acute anxieties, had proceeded no further than Morpeth, on her way to London, when she was seized by a severe illness, which confined her there for many weeks. During that interval the weak and sickle Angus not only privately made his peace with the Regent, but left her, and returned into Scotland, an offence for which she ever entertained an unalterable and pardonable resentment. She arrived not till the beginning of April, 1516, at her brother's court, where she remained for fourteen months, at the termination of which, Albany, hoping to lessen by a temporary retirement the odium which his despicable tyrannical government justly provoked, departed for France, Margaret, invited by himself to the Parliament, and having on her part engaged to leave almost nominal authority undisturbed, arrived in Scotland a week after she had quitted it; was replaced in possession of her estates and personal property; and found the country in the hands of a considerable party. Albany had been five months as the term of his absence, and when they were nearly expired, weary of his regency, and fond of a country in which his character and habits had been formed, he wrote to the Queen, desiring her to resume the government. Margaret, as she had been by her husband, who had now added to former causes of disgust a glaring infidelity

her bed, was sensible however that the aid such a subject was highly important to the support of her power thus offered to her. She requested the Council of Peers, in whose hands the direction of affairs had been left by Albany, to recognise him as Regent, and applied Henry to the same end, but her suit was unsuccessful with each: Angus, however, by her influence, insensibly acquired, during three years of alternate tumult and intrigue, all the faculties of that station, when Margaret, by a singular change of policy, that which was little more than the mere result of various passions may deserve to be called, solicited Albany. A proposal which promised him her aid in the conduct of his government was too tempting and refused. He arrived in November, 1521; chased her husband from her presence, and compelled him to banish himself to France; and assumed, with her entire concurrence, her supreme rule, and the custody of the young King, her

Regent scarcely been thus restored, than, a thing more than the tongue of a peevish proclaimed an improper intercourse between the Queen and himself. Dacre, in a letter to Henry, of the following month, says, "There is marvellous great intelligence between the Queen and the Duke, as well all the day as much of the night; and, in manner, they sett not by who knowe it: and, if I durst say for feare of displeasure of my Sovereign, they are over tender; whereof if your Grace examyne the Bishop of Dunkeld, of whose conscience, I trust he will shew the truth." Henry gave the fullest credit to these reports, and the Queen herself, in one of many original letters which have been preserved, complains to her brother that Wolsey had called her in the Privy Council "the concubine of Albany." The public opinion of her dishonour was confirmed by her anxiety to obtain a divorce from Angus, which, though she had entered the design from the hour in which she abandoned her Morpeth, had not been till then disclosed. This she was for the present disappointed, chiefly by the opposition of

Henry, who wishing to use him as a counterpoise to the renovated power of Albany, repeatedly demanded of her to receive him again as her husband, in a tone of anger and reproach ill calculated to persuade a woman of her disposition : and now, whether in the hope of bribing her brother to concurrence, or from a mere affection to her native country, she commenced a secret correspondence with him and his ministers, in which she disclosed from time to time every project formed by Albany with relation to England, by this useful treachery prevented the most ever meditated by Scotland, and induced the Regent to disband, in the face of a very inferior force, an army of eighty men, which he was on the point of crossing the border.

The experience even of a few days convinced Albany of the extent of his error. The Scots taxed him with cowardice ; the French with treachery ; and he formed a sudden resolution again to quit the country, and to weaken the effect of the suggestions of his enemies by carrying to Paris, together with the first of his unaccountable conduct, the best apology he could frame for it. He embarked on the twenty-fifth of October, 1532, having stipulated, on pain of forfeiture of the Regency, to return before Assumption-day, the first of August, in the succeeding year. Henry took advantage of his departure to institute various intrigues in Scotland, and addressed himself with success to the love of rule which, in spite of caprice, invariably distinguished his sister. He proposed that the young King should be solemnly placed on the throne, and invested with the exercise of the supreme power, assisted, in fact governed, by the advice of Margaret, and a select Council. An arrangement which involved the interest of many jarring parties necessarily required time, and Albany, who had been apprised of it in an early stage of its progress, arrived shortly after the appointed day, and wholly thwarted it. The Queen, terrified, and watched on all sides, meditated to fly once more to England, but Henry opposed

her design. Albany, however, showed no disposition to resent her defection, and is said to have treated her even with a polished courtesy, and Margaret, ever versatile, readily [redacted] with him. The lapse, however, of a very few months finally terminated his rule in Scotland. A second disgraceful and bloodless retreat, in November, 1524, [redacted] an army which he had raised to invade England, compelled him to quit for ever a country in which he was now utterly disgraced, and she instantly joined, [redacted] hesitation, her political influence to that of his constant adversary the [redacted] of Arran. Jealous of her brother's interference in the affairs of Scotland, she had now the satisfaction of accomplishing without his assistance the plan which [redacted] had formed for investing her son with the sovereignty, through the weight which she had derived from the accession of Arran. Henry seemed indisposed to resent this affront, but secretly prepared to undermine their power, by the aid of Angus, who had at his invitation at length left France, and was awaiting in London some turn of affairs which might favour his return to Scotland.

While these matters were passing, Margaret sacrificed her character and her interests, as a [redacted] Queen, to a new amour. The object of [redacted] folly, who [redacted] scarcely reached his twentieth year, was Henry Stuart, second son of Andrew Lord Evandale, and, incredible as it may seem, she presently placed this boy in the offices of Lord Treasurer and Chancellor. Scotland was now in fact without a government, and at this period, the winter of 1524, Angus arrived at Edinburgh, and, with much show of moderation, claimed his marital rights of the Queen, and offered to her his services. [redacted] is scarcely necessary to say, that she rejected both. Angus, as his design had been, joined a party of the justly incensed nobility, who chose him their leader, and the Parliament which was then sitting, appointed him, with six other Lords, spiritual and temporal, a Council of Regency, in which the empty title of Principal, with a mere shadow of

authority, was allowed to the Queen. The mortified Margaret now retired, with Arran and her minion, to the castle of Stirling, leaving the King in the power of Angus and his party. She stifled, however, her resentment for a time, and opened a correspondence with Angus, in the hope of persuading him to consent to a divorce, which she had long desired. In the mean time James, who soon became weary of a life of captivity to which he was now subjected, pressed her by secret messengers to devise some plan for his release. Two of those irregular military enterprises then so frequent in Scotland were instituted by her direction with this view, but not without some hope of recovering her former authority, but both were fruitless. Her love of rule, and her disposition to political intrigue, were now for a while suspended by the long solicited sentence of divorce, and in March, 1525, she became the wife of Henry Stuart, and in a great measure sacrificed to an unpardonable weakness the slender remains of her public consequence.

Margaret's importance indeed now merged into that of her son. James was in his fifteenth year, naturally manly for his age, and distinguished for that precocity of spirit which the consciousness of high birth seldom fails to excite in the healthy and robust. He loved his mother, and longed to maintain to the utmost the splendour of her rank, and to salve the wounds that she had inflicted on her good name while she, in addition to the usual partiality of a mother, in which she might have been by no means wanting, was naturally anxious to aid that authority which strove to exert itself on her behalf. Margaret had always been popular in Scotland, and Angus found it prudent to relax the severity with which he had interdicted all intercourse between them. The Queen was admitted to visit her son at long intervals, and acquired over him a considerable influence, which she exerted to the prejudice of Angus. James, pressed perhaps as well by a sense of duty as by her instances, determined to escape from the thralldom in which he was

by a nobleman, and having contrived to fly in disguise from his palace at Falkland, and from the stern custody of George Douglas, the brother of Angus, reached Stirling in safety, where he found the nobility of his mother's party prepared to receive him. Fully possessed at length of the regal authority, he overthrew the whole fabric of government lately erected by Angus and his friends, whom he proscribed, and restored his mother to the dignity of her proper station, and to the enjoyment of her revenues, without unduly surrendering to her the direction of the affairs.

Thus unwillingly disencumbered of the cares of sovereignty, the spirit of Margaret wasted itself on real or imaginary domestic grievances. She became weary of her husband, now decorated by James with the title of Lord Methven, accused him of squandering her revenues, actually instituted a process of divorce from him, which her son, by compassion for her character, interposed his authority to suppress. Meanwhile, by a thirst for employment, she condescended to become a spy for her brother Henry, whose advice she interests in her intervals of power. She was always alighted, perplexed his measures with useless intelligence. The King, her son, married, became a widower, and had taken a second wife. His private affections, and his political interests, had been thus diverted into new channels, and Margaret's views had become visions. She retired unwillingly, and became forgotten by all but the little circle of her court, and, dying at Methven, in June, 1541, was buried in the church of the Carthusians at Perth.

A treasure of the most secret original correspondence of this remarkable woman has fallen into the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, and is extant in our great public repository, the British Museum. From this source, chiefly through the medium of a modern historian of Scotland, whose indefatigable labours cannot be too highly prized, this very super-



facial [redacted] her story has been derived. To those who may be desirous to gain a more clear and direct view of the power and weakness of her mind ; of the elegance of her accomplishments, and the meanness of her follies ; I beg leave to recommend that inspection of the originals which I have not neglected. The character of Margaret Tudor will be found to stand almost alone among the curious anomalies of history.









## CHARLES BRANDON.

OF

THIS fortunate gallant man was son of William, or, as he is generally styled, Sir William Brandon, (though it is doubtful whether he was a knight) by Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Bruyn, and widow of a gentleman of the house of Mallory. It may be that he had an hereditary claim on the friendship and gratitude of Henry the Eighth, for his father had appeared among the first assertors of the late King's title to the throne; had forfeited an ample patrimony, and joined that prince in his exile in Brittany; returned with him to England; and fell in the field, where he bore the standard of the House of Lancaster, in the very hour which seemed to promise him the brightest fortunes. He was slain by the hand of royal Richard himself.

Charles became in every sense a ward of the Crown; was bred in the Court, and chosen by the King as one of the more familiar attendants on the person of his heir. He must have been at least five years older than the Prince, for his father died in 1486, and young Henry was not born till 1491. It is probable then that he became under the direction of the companion, as he has generally been called, the master's amusements: his observation, which somewhat ripened perhaps enabled him, even at that time, to make Henry's disposition might have laid the foundation of that uninterrupted security which so

he alone enjoyed constantly the Royal favour. With a ~~sound~~ understanding for higher spheres of action, he seems, and indeed in such a reign it was a proof of his sagacity, ~~to~~ have adopted by choice the character of a ~~courtier~~ courtier; but he moved in ~~it~~ with a rare dignity, and envy, malice, and duplicity seem to have been unknown to him. "The gallants ~~of~~ the Court," says Lord Herbert, in his history of the year 1513, "finding now the King's favour shining manifestly on Wolsey, applied themselves much to him; ~~especially~~ Charles Brandon, who, for ~~his~~ goodly person, courage, and conformity of disposition, ~~was~~ noted ~~to~~ be ~~so~~ acceptable to the King in all his exercises and pastimes." This is the sole record against him of anything like subservience or flattery.

Henry, ~~on~~ mounting ~~the~~ throne, appointed him ~~one of~~ Esquires ~~of~~ ~~the~~ Body, and ~~one of~~ of ~~the~~ Principality ~~of~~ Wales. ~~In~~ 1513 he first appeared in warlike service; was present in that desperate action with a French squadron which occurred early in ~~the~~ spring of that year ~~at~~ Brest; and on ~~his~~ return was created a Peer by the ~~title~~ of Viscount L'Isle. That dignity ~~was~~ conferred on him on ~~the~~ ~~last~~ of May, ~~on~~ ~~the~~ last day of June he embarked with Henry on ~~the~~ invasion of France which ~~was~~ distinguished by the successful siege of Therouënne, and by the action vulgarly called the Battle of Spurs, is a supposed allusion to the swiftness with which the French ~~retired~~ from ~~the~~ field, but which in fact obtained its name from the village of Spurs, near which it was fought. ~~He~~ commanded the vanguard of ~~the~~ English army in that service, after which he marched with the King into Flanders, where, having reduced Tournay, they ~~met~~ met at Lille, and splendidly entertained by the Emperor Maximilian. Here he is ~~not~~ not only to have made some impression on the heart of that Monarch's daughter, ~~the~~ Archduchess Margaret, but ~~to~~ to have aspired to her hand. "I find," says Herbert again, "some overture ~~to~~ match ~~with~~ Charles Brandon, ~~the~~ Lord Lisle, ~~and~~

Princess Margaret ; which, though it took no effect, was yet without much demonstration of outward grace and favour on her part." She was destined, however, to obtain a consort yet more illustrious. The Princess Mary, second sister to Henry, had been married in the autumn of 1514 to Louis of France ; a political union of youth and beauty debilitated her age. Brandon, now Duke of Suffolk, having been so created on the first of the preceding February, was sent, with the flower of English nobility, to the nuptials : and it has been said, that his skill and courage in the jousts, which formed a part of the celebration, and which chanced to be contended with more than usual fierceness, captivated the affections of the Queen. It is reasonable however to suppose, nor is the conjecture altogether unsupported by historical evidence, that she had flattered his hopes long before he quitted England. On the fact it may, the good Louis died within three months after his marriage, and the youthful Dowager, within very few days after, secretly married to the Duke of Suffolk, which ceremony was publicly repeated soon after at Calais, and finally at Greenwich, on the thirteenth of May, 1515.

It is difficult to reconcile Henry's conduct to his character with regard to this affair. He made at first a slight show of resentment, but was presently appeased ; and the return of his favour was accompanied by a grant to the Duke of the great manor which had formerly belonged to Edmund de Pole, Earl of Suffolk. Was it possible that friendship and love could have extorted this tribute from haughtiness and tyranny ; or was the result of mere policy, even in its motives, and accidentally just in its consequence ? We have perhaps no better clue to the solution of the question than in Lord Herbert's account of this the most important circumstance of the Duke's life, which take in the words of the historian, who, in speaking of the treaty of London pending with France, for the conclusion of the plen-



potentiary, concludes thus—"Together with ~~the~~ proposing of this treaty, ~~the~~ King sent a letter to the Queen, his sister, wherein he desired to know how she stood affected to her return to England ; desiring her withal not to match without his consent. She, on the other side, who had privately engaged her affections to Charles, Duke of Suffolk, made no great difficulty to discover herself to both Kings," (meaning Francis the First, who had succeeded her late husband, and ~~her~~ brother Henry ;) "entreating Francis to mediate ~~the~~ marriage, and our King to approve it. Unto the former Francis easily agreed, though once intending to propose a match between her and the Duke of Savoy ; but our King, for the conservation of his dignity, held a little off : however, ~~he~~ had long since designed her to Suffolk. The Queen also, believing that this formality was the greatest impediment, did not proceed without some scruple, though protesting, as appears by an original, that if the King would have her married in any place save where her mind was, she would shut herself up in some religious house. Thus, without any great pomp, being secretly married, the Queen writ letters of excuse to the King her brother, taking the fault, if any were, on herself : and together for the more clearing the ~~name~~ of Suffolk, professed that she prefixed the space of four days to him, in which, she said, unless he could obtain her good will, he should be out of all hope of enjoying her : whereby as also through the good office of Francis, who, fearing that our King by her means should contract some greater alliance did further this marriage, our king did by degrees restore them to his favour ; Wolsey also not a little contributing thereto, while he told our King how much better bestowed she was on him than on some person of quality in France." Suffolk, in ~~addition~~ to the probable advantages of this affinity to the throne, derived immense wealth from his marriage to Mary. Her jointure was sixty thousand crowns annually, and the personal property which she was allowed to bring to

England was [redacted] [redacted] hundred thousand, together with a celebrated diamond, of immense price, called "le Miroir [redacted] Naples."

In 1515, on some occasion of disgust between him and Wolsey, he retired for a considerable time into the country: but Henry loved him too well to sacrifice him to the favourite, and the duke, on [redacted] part, had too much nobleness of spirit to oppose Wolsey by any other [redacted] than those of an honest and open resentment, which seems ever after [redacted] have subsisted. He returned to the Court with unimpaired favour; [redacted] among the first of Henry's gallant companions in the romantic festivities of 1520, which distinguished the King's famous interview with Francis the First in Picardy; and in [redacted] invaded France [redacted] head of twelve thousand men. The circumstances [redacted] expedition afford a curious proof of [redacted] imperfection of [redacted] military economy of [redacted] days, [redacted] in the two greatest military powers of Europe; for while the utmost efforts [redacted] French were insufficient [redacted] prevent that small force, aided by eight thousand Germans, from penetrating within eleven leagues of Paris, Suffolk, on the other hand, having gained [redacted] mighty advantage, found [redacted] obliged to retrace [redacted] steps precipitately [redacted] Calais, [redacted] save his [redacted] from dying of hunger. Henry [redacted] highly displeased [redacted] retreat, and the Duke wisely deferred his voyage to England till he [redacted] appeased his master's choler.

In the eventful period which shortly followed he became unavoidably [redacted] actor in the great [redacted] which distinguished it. He [redacted] a witness in [redacted] the inquiry [redacted] which the King grounded his claim of divorce from Catherine; subscribed to the articles preferred by the Parliament against Wolsey; and also to the declaration addressed by the Peers in the same Parliament to Pope Clement the Seventh, by which they threatened to [redacted] the [redacted] the Holy [redacted] in England, should the [redacted] deny his consent [redacted] the dissolution of the marriage. [redacted] indeed into all [redacted]

which to Reformation with a readiness which, not the result of insincerity, might perhaps, best, be ascribed to an indifference as to all modes of religious faith; and Henry afterwards rewarded his pliance by grants of abbey lands to a vast amount. In 1536 he commanded the troops which were then hastily raised to against the insurgents of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; and in 1544 once attended Henry to France, and was appointed General of the army sent to besiege Boulogne, which he reduced after a siege of six weeks. health probably at that time declining, for made his will immediately before his departure, fourteenth August, in following year. By that instrument, which is dated the twentieth of June, 1544, he orders that a gold should be made of collar of the Garter, and given to the King; that the ceremonies of his funeral should conducted with a frugality plainness very unusual time; to use words, "without any outward pride of world;" that his body be buried the collegiate church of Tattershall, in Lincolnshire. He was interred, however, great magnificence, by the special command of the King, and at his charge, in George's Chapel, Windsor.

The Duke, the time of death, held the posts of Chief Justice in Eyre of all the King's Forests, and Great Master (or, as say, Lord Steward) of the Royal Household; and these appear to have been the only public appointments of note that were at any time conferred on him. been four times married. First, to Margaret, daughter of John Neville, Marquis Montacute, and widow of Sir John Mortimer, from whom he was divorced, apparently at her suit, because he had, previously to their nuptials, privately signed a contract of marriage with Anne, daughter of Anthony Browne, Lieutenant of Calais. He took Lady to his second wife, and had by her two daughters: Anne, born

before marriage, who became the wife of Edward, Lord Powis; Mary, who married Thomas, Lord Mounteagle. The Queen Dowager of France brought him a Henry, who was created Earl of Lincoln, and died young; and two daughters, Eleanor, of Henry Clifford, Cumberland, and Frances, married, first to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and then to Adrian Stokes. By his fourth Lady, Catherine, daughter and heir of Lord Willoughby of Eresby, he had two sons, Henry and Charles, who survived him only for the space of six years, for they died of the sweating sickness, the Bishop of Lincoln's palace Bugden, on the same day, the fourteenth of July, 1551.

The original of the following short letter from the Duke, and his last Duchess, to Cobham, then Governor of Calais, is in the Harleian collection. I insert it merely as a specimen of the familiar epistolary style of him who was esteemed the most polite nobleman of his time.

"After my right hartie comendacons to yo<sup>r</sup> good Lordshipp, w<sup>e</sup> like thanks aswell for yo<sup>r</sup> gentell l<sup>r</sup>e dyrected to me from Callays of the xvii<sup>th</sup> of this instant, as also for yo<sup>r</sup> quailles, which I p<sup>r</sup>esent mornynge I have receyved by yo<sup>r</sup> And where you desier to knowe in what p<sup>r</sup>t in Kent I shall remayn, to th<sup>e</sup> extent you wold from tyme to tyme signifye to me of such newes as be currant ther, for yo<sup>r</sup> soo doing I geve unto you most harty thanks. For wherunto you shall understand that, as far as I knowe yet, I shall demure in town: but, whersoever I shall be, you shall have knowlege therof from tyme to tyme. I fynde myself moch beholding to my Lady, yo<sup>r</sup> bedfellow, who hath sent me venison, and made me good chere.

"Also, touching Lightmaker; a complaynt he shuld make: By my trouth, my Lord, beleve me never complayned of any suche mattir; but indede he told me that the displeasur that was was for that another of his cuntry wold have taken away his men; and, as long as

he shall behave hymself honestly, I hartely desier you to  
 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] owe unto hym yo<sup>r</sup> good wyll and favor, for my  
 sake; and, yf he doo otherwyse, then to be unto him no  
 woorte thenne you wold be to another. Thus fare yo<sup>r</sup> Lord-  
 shipp right hartely well. From Rochester, the xix<sup>th</sup> of June.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp's assured freend,

"CHARLES SUTTONK." "

"Mr Lord,

"W<sup>th</sup> my harté thankses for yo<sup>r</sup> gentle remembrance, I  
 bekeweys mayk to you my harté comendacions.

"Yo<sup>r</sup> power frend,

"KATHERINE SUTTONK."











## CARDINAL BEATOUN.

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DAVID BEATOUN, for his talents, for the loftiness of his spirit, for his complete monopoly of royal favour, ■■■ unbounded power in the government both of Church and State, may be not unaptly ■■■ the Wolsey of Scotland ; but he ■■■ not, like that great man, the child of obscurity, ■■■ builder, from the foundation, of his ■■■ fortunes. His family ■■■ ■■■ illustrious, for he ■■■ descended from the old Franch house of Bethune, connected by more than one marriage with the ancient earls of Flanders, and celebrated for having produced, ■■■ other branches dignified with the ■■■ rank, that ■■■ ever-memorable Maximilian, ■■■ of Sully. The credit of his name ■■■ been raised in Scotland, where ■■■ peculiar ■■■ ■■■ for more than two centuries in the ■■■ of respectable country gentlemen, by his uncle, James Beatoun, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Lord Chancellor, a statesman of great parts ■■■ power, and he was the son of John Beatoun, of Balfour, elder brother to that Prelate, by Isabel, daughter of ■■■ Money-penny, ■■■ Pitmilly, in the county of Fife. He ■■■ born in 1494, and received ■■■ admirable education ■■■ home, ■■■ in ■■■ University of St. Andrews, under the eye of his uncle, who sent him, when approaching manhood, to France, with the double view of completely qualifying him in the University of Paris for the ecclesiastical profession, and of introducing him advantageously to the Duke of Albany, who resided in that country, and who was then about to accept ■■■ ■■■ of Regent of ■■■ during the minority of his

great-nephew, James ■ Fifth. Both objects were ■■■■■  
 ■■■■■ gained the highest credit by the success of his studies,  
 and the Duke employed him, even while he was prosecuting  
 them, in several affairs at the court of France in which the  
 public interests of Scotland were involved; and, upon ■■■■■  
 death, in 1519, of ■■■■■ resident minister in Paris,  
 appointed him to that office. His uncle in the meantime  
 laboured with the ■■■■■ affectionate ■■■■■ to advance him ■■■■■  
 home, and, ■■■■■ being translated in 1523 from the Archbishopric  
 of Glasgow to the Primacy, resigned the rich and mitred  
 Abbey of Aberbrothock; prevailed on the Regent to give it  
 to his nephew, and ■■■■■ the Pope to grant him for two years a  
 dispensation, waving the forms of acceptance required by ■■■■■  
 Church, in order that he might perform without interruption  
 his diplomatic duties ■■■■■ Paris.

■■■■■ returned, and took his seat in ■■■■■ Parliament, in 1525.  
 During his mission important changes had occurred in the  
 government: the Regent had been displaced, and the Primate  
 deprived of the office of Chancellor, and driven into retire-  
 ment, by the party headed by the Earl of Angus, husband of  
 ■■■■■ Queen Mother; but ■■■■■ prospects seem ■■■■■ have  
 been in no degree clouded by those circumstances, for he had  
 not been many weeks in Scotland when he was appointed  
 by the Parliament one ■■■■■ the six members from that body to  
 whom ■■■■■ charge ■■■■■ King's person ■■■■■ education ■■■■■  
 specially committed. Younger, ■■■■■ palite, ■■■■■ perhaps  
 more artful, than ■■■■■ colleagues, it is not strange that the  
 youthful James should have selected him from them for his  
 companion ■■■■■ confidant. As the mind of the King advanced  
 to maturity, to these lighter impressions was added the weight  
 of Beatoun's splendid and commanding abilities, and motives  
 of policy soon after intervened on either side to ■■■■■  
 the ascendancy which he at length gained. In the mean time  
 Angus, who had governed not only the realm but the King  
 with a control too sharp and haughty to be lasting, was over-  
 thrown by one of those ■■■■■ ■■■■■ at that time ■■■■■ frequent

in his country; the Primate returned, not to resume his former power in the State, but to endeavour to obtain it for his nephew, whom he now named as his coadjutor, and whom the King presently after placed in the office of Lord Privy Seal. That appointment, which under the Scottish monarchy actually invested the Primate who held it with all the confidence which the denomination implies, was conferred on Beatoun in 1528, and from that period he was considered to be, as in fact he was, the King's chief minister and favourite.

Scotland was then divided into two powerful and furious factions; the French, which comprised nearly all the clergy, and consequently a great majority of those of the people who were subject to the bond of claniship; and the English, consisting of a formidable number of the nobility, some of whom were actuated by personal enmity to individuals of the Court or Council; others by habitual jealousy of foreigners; and not a few by the bribes of Henry the Eighth. The young King and Beatoun became mutually attached to the former party; the one, from his sincere devotion to the ancient faith, and the horror with which he regarded the efforts directed against it by his uncle, King Henry, to which seems to have been added an earnest desire to marry a Princess of France; the other, because he had entered into secret engagements with Francis the First, to secure to him a lasting alliance with Scotland, and had received from the Prince in return the most solemn assurances of friendship and favour. With these predispositions both in master and servant, James in 1542 dispatched him to Paris, professedly to demand in marriage the Princess Magdalen, sister to the King, but he was privately charged with business of higher importance, and seems in this mission to have negotiated and concluded a secret treaty with Francis, and in some measure with the Emperor and the Pope, for the protection of the Catholic religion, and necessarily therefore in opposition to the views then entertained by our Henry. He returned fully successful in all that he had undertaken,

but the marriage was postponed in consequence of the ill health of the Princess at that time, and she remained in Scotland till 1536, when James, attended by Beatoun, made a long visit to the Court of France, and wedded her in person.

The young Queen died within two months after her arrival in Scotland, and the King, anxious to avoid reiterated demands from Henry and the Emperor of the hand of the Princess Mary of England, sent Beatoun again to the French Court, with proposals to Mary of Lorraine, daughter to the Duke of Guise. During the negotiation, which was to have occupied some considerable time, he received at length publicly the strongest marks of Francis's partiality. In November, 1537, the French King signed an ordinance permitting him to hold benefices and purchase estates in France, and presently after bestowed on him the rich Bishopric of Mirepoix, in Upper Languedoc. He returned in the following July, bringing with him the young Queen. His uncle, the Archbishop, who had become infirm, timid, and indolent, had for some years privately delegated to him almost the whole authority of the Primacy, but the natural mildness of that Prelate sometimes interposed to moderate the zeal of the coadjutor: the reigning Pope, Paul the Third, on the other hand, determined to encourage it. Hoping yet to retain to the Holy See the allegiance of Scotland, and anxious therefore to place without delay the head of her church in a more wise, resolute, and active, as well as sincerely devoted Pontiff, he selected Beatoun for that service. Willing, however, to leave to so ancient and faithful a son as the Primate at least the appearance of the dignity, the Pontiff devised the means of giving him a superior without depriving him of his See, by raising his nephew to the dignity of a Cardinal. He was elected to the Purple on the twentieth of December, 1538, and within a few months after succeeded, on the death of his uncle, to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews.

He now pressed for a special legantine commission, and the Pope answered that the Primacy annexed to his See con-

stituted him what in the language of the Church was termed "Legatus natus," and invested him with ecclesiastical authority in Scotland. James, who with earnestness sought for that distinction, seems to have desisted at the instance of Henry. That Prince, who considered Beaton as an adversary, had lately patched to Scotland Sir Ralph Sadleir, a minister not less remarkable for fidelity than acuteness, for the sole purpose of effecting his ruin: and James, though he refused, with a laudable firmness, to listen to insinuations against a favourite servant, which were not only malicious but ungrounded, perhaps yet deemed it prudent to concede in this single instance the angry feelings of his uncle. A most exact and curious recital of Beaton's conversations with James on the subjects of his mission, highly creditable as well to the heart as to the understanding of the Cardinal Prince, may be found in a letter of great length from the Ambassador to his master, in the publication of "Sadleir's Papers."

The conduct of Beaton under disappointment amply proved his attachment to the Romish Church, to its head, was not to be shaken by any selfish considerations. He determined to prove the degree of that power which the Pope had decided to be sufficient, and in the spring of 1549 he came to St. Andrews with a pomp and splendour which had before been used by any Primate of Scotland, accompanied by a numerous train of the first nobility and gentry; by the Archbishop of Glasgow, Lord Chancellor; many other Prelates; and nearly the whole body of the clergy. Having arrived there, he convened them in a sort of general ecclesiastical council, under his presidency, in the cathedral; represented to them the imminent perils which threatened the Church; and before them the measures which he had devised for its defence. His suggestions were received with unanimous approbation, and processes were not only instituted, even in their first sitting, against several of the reformers, but a sentence of confiscation and the stake was

passed on a Sir John Borthwick, one of the most distinguished among them, who, on having been previously cited to appear before this assembly, had fled into England, where he was gladly received by Henry, and soon after employed by that Prince in a mission in the affairs of the reformation to the Protestant Courts of Germany. Borthwick was burned in effigy, his goods seized, and all intercourse with him prohibited under pain of excommunication. The Cardinal, thus encouraged, proceeded with vigour against the enemies of his Church, and, naturally enough, incurred from them the denomination and odium of a persecutor, which those who may take the trouble to disentangle the truth from the jarring and obscure historical accounts of that time, will find to have been very unjustly cast on him. The most romantic tales have been told of his severity. He celebrated Buchanan, who had been charged with heresy, and confined, and who, as a grave writer ridiculously observes, "would certainly have been put to death, had he not escaped out of prison," tells us that Beaton had presented to the King a roll of three hundred and sixty of the principal nobility and gentry of Scotland as proper objects of prosecution; and in another part of his history cites a circumstance which will be presently mentioned, to show the enormous cruelty of his natural disposition. Neither of these reports are in any degree supported by any other writer of that time; and the best apology for Beaton's memory with respect to such charges is in the historical fact that only four or five persons suffered death on the score of religious difference during his long government of the Church of Scotland.

Certain too it is that as his influence over the mind of the King, his master, was unbounded, so was his choice of means by which to stem the torrent of the reformation wholly unscrupulous. In all political as well as religious affairs, James obeyed him with the subserviency of a pupil. When Henry the Eighth proposed a conference with that prince, early in his reign, at York, James, anxious to maintain peace with his

uncle, and anxious to behold the splendid novelties of the English Court, eagerly accepted the invitation. The time for the meeting was fixed, and all arrangements made for his journey, when Beaton suddenly interposed his authority, and compelled the King, to the great offence of Henry, to break the appointment, and prepare for war. With yet more facility he induced his master to that invasion of England in 1542, which ended in the terrible overthrow of the Scots on Solway Moss. James, who survived that great misfortune but for a few weeks, is said by most historians to have died of a broken heart, occasioned by his bitter reflections on it; while a few obscure writers have insinuated that the Cardinal destroyed him by poison, a slander invented in the blindness of malice, and utterly rejected by the sobriety of common sense. His influence over James subsisted to the last hour of that Prince's life. Beaton persuaded him, a few hours before his dissolution, to sign a will, nominating himself, and the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Arran, a Council of Regency, to govern the Kingdom in the name of the infant Mary. The validity of this instrument, which had been solemnly proclaimed in Edinburgh, was presently questioned by the English faction, and soon after annulled, on the coarse and ready pretence that it had been forged by the Cardinal. Steps were taken to prove this charge, and indeed it seems to have been a mere invention, to apologise for depriving him of that power which was now to fall for a time into the hands of his enemies. He was stripped accordingly of all authority in the government, and in a manner banished to his diocese, and James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was presumptive heir to the Crown, was, in the spring of 1543, chosen by the Parliament sole Regent.

The first step made by the party which had thus gained the ascendancy was to entertain a proposal made by Henry for the marriage of his son, Edward, to Mary, then in her cradle. To this, of all public measures, it was known that Beaton would be most averse. He was determined, therefore,



before it could be discussed in Parliament, to prevent his attendance at that assembly, he was suddenly seized, imprisoned in the castle of Blackness. His conduct now unveiled the seemingly magical power which he had so long exercised, the simple result of his transcendent faculties of mind, and of a courageous heart. This superiority ensured to him, in an otherwise comparatively artless, the attachment of many of the first men in Scotland, who bowed instinctively to his mighty talents, and were now ready to obey his mandates, though issued through the grates of a prison. To these natural powers were added the weight of his ecclesiastical influence. Arran, a weak and irresolute man, terrified at the boldness of the measures which he had been made the instrument of executing, was easily prevailed on to connive at the Cardinal's removal to St. Andrews by the Lord Seaton, whose custody he had been committed, whom he had gained to his interest. There, in some measure in the character of a prisoner, he summoned a meeting of the clergy; vehemently excited their opposition to the English marriage, as the only means of preserving the Church; and, with little difficulty, engaged them to raise money for the equipment of troops, whose force became necessary for the attainment of their object. Meanwhile he concerted with the nobles of Huntly, Argyll, Bothwell, and Murray, for gaining possession of the persons of the young Queen and the Queen Dowager, who were accordingly carried off by those noblemen from Linlithgow to Stirling, and for preventing the meeting of the Parliament, which they failed. It was convened on the 25th of August, 1543, and ratified under the great seal the treaty with England for a peace, and for the marriage, in concert with the Regent, who went out on the following day to St. Andrews, where he proclaimed the Cardinal a rebel, and in the same week met him privately, received absolution at his hands, and surrendered himself implicitly to his direction.

Bestoun, for the short remainder of his life, swayed the

will of the Regent with a power even unlimited than which the late King had submitted. Very soon after their reconciliation, Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, who had the office of Chancellor for years with the highest reputation, was compelled to relinquish it to the Cardinal, who resigned of the Privy Seal, in favour of John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, to whose influence over Arran, his natural brother, he been much indebted in the late singular political revolution. A single step remained at to the dearest wish of his heart, and to crown the triumph of his ambition. demanded of the Regent to solicit for him the Court of Rome appointment of Legate a latere. The request was made, to have been granted, without hesitation, he was raised to that superb ecclesiastical station on the thirtieth of January, 1543, O.S., by the Pope who formerly denied to him. He commenced without delay the exercise of his extensive faculties with which it invested him; held a solemn visitation to his diocese, by the Regent and others of his highest public functions in the realm, inquire into the of religious opinions practices; endeavoured to reclaim the moderate reformers by arguments threats; proceeded with severity against a few self-devoted zealots whose furious demeanour had him no choice but to abandon or Church to inevitable destruction. At Perth five persons, of the lowest order, put to death, not for espousing the doctrines of the reformation, but for having insulted by the grossest indecencies the established worship of the land. On his return, he convened an assembly of the clergy at Edinburgh, which he opened with a speech of distinguished impartiality. Christianity, he said, laboured under the greatest peril, for which he knew but two remedies, each which he had resolved to administer; the one a vigorous prosecution of those who professed encouraged the new modes faith; the other, a reformation of the

and immoral lives of the Catholic clergy, which furnished an ample pretext for separation.

he proceeded further he might have escaped the censure of persecution from the many Protestant writers, for we have an account of him from the pens of those of his own Church, who have given that colour to his character; but he now determined to attack the leader of the Scottish reformers, and it was for the prosecution of George Wishart that they consigned him to the most lasting odium. Wishart was a man of considerable talents and learning, a persuasive and indefatigable preacher, and a man of the most exemplary morals. His conduct exhibited, together with the most overhated zeal, a most generous and patience of temper, and an innocence of manners and conversation, not only recommended, but endeared, him to all with whom he could obtain intercourse. The Pope of Rome could not have a more formidable opponent, nor could there perhaps have been one among its opponents more other than certain of deriving from extremity the punishment of martyr. Beatoun, who had long been in progress with increasing uneasiness, at length prevailed with the Regent to issue an order for his apprehension, and to have accompanied the Duke of Bothwell into the Lothian, of which county he was hereditary sheriff, to whom Wishart was conducted to the Castle of Edinburgh, from whence, at the request of the Queen Dowager, who always adhered to the Cardinal, the Regent directed that he should be transferred to St. Andrews, where Beatoun immediately prepared for his trial, and summoned the Prelates of the realm to assemble there for that purpose on the twenty-seventh of February, 1545, O. S. It was suggested at their first meeting, to lessen the responsibility of the clergy, that application should be made to the Regent to grant a special commission constituting some eminent layman to preside, to which the Cardinal agreed. Arran was willing to

concede ■■■ point, but, on ■■■ advice of a zealous Protestant, to which persuasion indeed he was himself inclined, ■■■ returned, to ■■■ the words of Spotswood, this answer, "I ■■■ Cardinal would do well ■■■ to precipitate ■■■ trial, but to delay it until his coming; for, ■■■ to himself, he would not ■■■ his death ■■■ the cause ■■■ well ■■■ mined; and if the Cardinal ■■■ do otherwise, he would make protestation that ■■■ man's blood should be required ■■■ hands." Beaton, enraged ■■■ this perhaps ■■■ instance of the Regent's resistance to any dictate of his, rejoined, ■■■ Spotswood, "That he wrote not unto the Governor ■■■ though he depended in ■■■ matter upon his authority, but ■■■ a desire ■■■ that the heretic's condemnation might proceed with ■■■ show of public consent, which since he ■■■ obtain, he would be doing ■■■ that which ■■■ fitting." ■■■ was accordingly tried on eighteen articles by the Prelates, and condemned to be burned. ■■■ executed ■■■ Andrews on ■■■ second of March, in ■■■ presence, ■■■ Buchanan, of the Cardinal, "who ■■■ opposite ■■■ stake, in a balcony hung with tapestry and ■■■ hangings, to behold and take pleasure in ■■■ joyful sight;" ■■■ cried, from the ■■■ of the flames, "He who now so proudly looks down on ■■■ from yonder lofty place shall ere long ■■■ ignominiously thrown down as now he proudly ■■■ his case." These circumstances, ■■■ memorable, are not mentioned by any writers except Buchanan, and those who have copied from or quoted him, and there is little doubt that the ■■■ triumph of the Cardinal, and the prophecy of the martyr, are ■■■ of ■■■ invention.

The Cardinal's death indeed occurred ■■■ speedily ■■■ that of Wishart, and from circumstances so strange ■■■ unexpected, that, had such a prognostication really been uttered, all Europe, in ■■■ and credulous of wonders, would have rung with the fame of its accomplishment. Beaton, universally envied for ■■■ greatness; constantly de-

tested by a powerful party in the State ; by another not less formidable in the Church ; and by a neighbouring Potentate as for a vindictive spirit as for freedom from all scruples of conscience with regard to the means of gratifying it ; was destined to fall by the hands of assassins actuated by motives of anger for private causes. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1548, five gentlemen, Norman Lesley, eldest son, and John Lesley, brother, to the Earl of Rothes ; William Kirkaldy, of Grange ; Peter Carmichael, ; and James Melville ; having previously concerted their plan with great circumspection, entered the castle of St. Andrews, early in the morning, with very few followers. Having secured the porter, by whom (as he well knew all of them) they been readily admitted within the walls, they appointed, says Spotswood, "four their watch the chamber where Cardinal lay, that no advertisement go unto him, then went to the several which lay asleep, and calling them by their names, for they were all known unto them, they put fifty of his ordinary servants, besides the workmen, masons, and wrights, who reckoned above a hundred (for was then fortifying the castle) the gate, permitting to stay within but the Governor's eldest son, whom they thought to detain upon adventures. This was performed with so noise the Cardinal did not hear till they knocked at his chamber. Then he asked who there ? John Lesley answered, 'My is Lesley.' 'Which Lesley,' the Cardinal, 'is that Norman ?' It answered that he open those that were there. him notice that they were no friends, therefore making the door fast, he refused to open. They calling to bring fire, whilst it was in fetching he began to commune with them, and, after some speeches, upon their promise to him violence, he opened the door, but they rushing with their swords drawn, did inhumanly him, he not making any resistance.

fell perhaps the greatest man in almost every point

of consideration that his country ever produced. His vast talents and his consequent power have combined to preserve that regular chain of the circumstances of his public life, of which I have here attempted to give an abstract, while the history of many of his contemporaries who held high offices in the State is almost unknown. In the story of one of whom so much has been told, and that too by his enemies, it is in all events unlikely that any just dispraises should have been omitted, and it must be confessed that, with the exception of some religious severities, his public conduct has been left free of blame. Of his private character less is known. He publicly indulged in a licentiousness not uncommon with the eminent clergy of his time, and lived in open concubinage with a lady of a noble family, Marian Ogilvie, by whom he had six children, of which his eldest daughter was married a few weeks before his death to the heir of the then Earl of Crawford, a respectable descendants from some of the others yet remain in Scotland. Some Latin works of his pen are said to remain in manuscript ; an account of his negotiations with the King of France and the Pope ; a Treatise of the Supremacy of St. Peter the other Apostles ; and a Collection of his Speeches and Discourses on several occasions.













## HENRY HOWARD,

EARL OF HOWARD

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THE character of this extraordinary young man reflects splendour even on the name of Howard. With the true spirit and dignity of an English nobleman, and with a personal courage almost romantic, he united a politeness and urbanity then almost peculiar to himself, and all those mild and sweet dispositions which blesssed private life. He is said to have possessed talents capable of directing or thwarting the most important state affairs; but he was too honourable to be the instrument either of tyranny or rebellion, and the violent reign under which he had the misfortune to live admitted of no medium. He applied his mind, therefore, to softer studies; and nearly revived, in an age too rude to enjoy fully those beauties which mere nature could not but in some degree relish, the force of imagination and expression, the polished style, and the passionate sentiments, of the best poets of antiquity.

He was born about the year 1518, the son of Thomas, third Duke of Norfolk, by his second lady, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham. The place and method of his education are unknown, or at least very doubtful. The ordinary report of history is that he was bred with Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a natural son of Henry the Eighth, with whom he certainly contracted an early and strict friendship, and to whom his sister was afterwards married. Anthony Wood says that he was a

student of Christ Church, but the name of neither of these young noblemen is to be found in the records of the university. On the thirteenth of February, 1532, he was contracted in marriage to Frances, daughter of John de Vere, fifteenth Earl of Oxford; and in the succeeding year was in the glittering train which attended the King to his celebrated meeting on the French coast with Francis the First. Henry, on the very day of his return from that brief expedition, was married to Anne Boleyn. She was first cousin to Surrey, the magnificence of whose family views seemed now to be consummated by this superb alliance, which was to be so soon and so mournfully broken. He appears, however, to have avoided all ostentation of the fruits of these advantages, and to have lived for some years in modest retirement, attending to his domestic duties—for his marriage was now completed, and he had a son—and sacrificing at his leisure largely to the muse. In this long interval we scarcely hear of him, except as an attendant, in the character of Deputy Marshal, of the Duke, his father, when that nobleman presided as Lord High Steward on the trial of his kinswoman, the unfortunate Anne, in 1536; and as one of the chief officers at the funeral, in the following year, of her successor, Jane Seymour. Yet this was the period which many writers, misled by one erroneous authority, represent him as having passed in Italy, in amours and in triumphs, which an industrious editor of his works has of late years proved to be wholly imaginary.

In the spring of 1541, he peculiarly distinguished himself in the jousts and tournaments instituted in honour of the marriage of Henry to Anne of Cleves, and in the autumn of the same year we find him in his first public employment. On some demonstrations on the part of France, he was joined in commission with the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Russell, to visit, and inquire into the state of the English possessions on that coast. A singular contrast of circumstances occurred to him presently after his

return. On the twenty-third of April, 1542, he was invested with the Order of the Garter; and in the thirteenth of the succeeding July was imprisoned in the Fleet, on ground of a desperate quarrel with a private gentleman, and remained closely confined for some weeks, when he was released, on submitting to be bound to keep the peace in the then great sum of ten thousand marks; nor was this only feud in which he was engaged about that time. His contests were of almost daily occurrence among young men of rank, and furnished him argument either of his temper or ill Personal courage was their cardinal virtue, and in days of public peace they had no other means of evincing they possessed it. The time, however, approached for him giving proofs more graceful and becoming. He had hitherto no military service, but in a predatory incursion of a few days on the Scottish border, in which he accompanied his father. In the mean while, however, we find him in a prison in the Fleet, and on charges, or rather on one charge, so wild and extravagant as to remind us instantly of the often-quoted line of the poet—"Great wit to madness," &c. In the spring of 1543, Surrey was accused to the Privy Council, by the Lord Mayor and Recorder of London, of having been in Lent, and this he answered effectually by pleading a dispensation. But it was added that he had been accustomed to traverse the streets of London in the dead of the night, to break windows by shots from his cross-bow. He acknowledged the truth of the charge, but his defence was yet more strange than his fault. He alleged that he had done so in the hope of correcting the licentious and corrupt manners of the citizens, by impressing them with the supernatural warnings from Providence of impending vengeance. No writer durst repeat this extravagant tale, were it not verified by Surrey himself in one of his poems, and by the grave authority of the original minutes of the Privy Council yet extant.

■■■■ durance was probably of very short continuance, for in  
 the succeeding July he made ■■■■ active military ■■■■ as  
 a volunteer ■■■■ the troops sent, under the command of Sir  
 ■■■■ Wallop, ■■■■ the Emperor in ■■■■ invasion of France,  
 and was present in the unsuccessful siege of Landrecy. That  
 General, in a dispatch to Paget, the Secretary of State, says,  
 "My Lord of Surrey hath lost no time since his arrival at  
 the army, for he visiteth all things that be meet for a man of  
 ■■■■ look upon for his learning, and such a siege hath not  
 been ■■■■ long time in these partes." Thus qualified by  
 ■■■■ experience, and abundant inclination, he ■■■■ appointed  
 ■■■■ of the army with which Henry invaded France in  
 ■■■■ of 1544, of which the Duke, his father, ■■■■  
 commanded ■■■■ vanguard. In ■■■■ formidable expedition, which  
 ■■■■ King professed to direct immediately against the capital,  
 but ■■■■ which he merely ■■■■ the capture of Boulogne,  
 Surrey ■■■■ equally distinguished in several partial actions by  
 his prudence and bravery, ■■■■ he was ■■■■ length borne off the  
 field, desperately, and, as it was believed, mortally wounded.  
 He again passed over to the French coast in the end of ■■■■  
 following summer, where he found a body of three thousand  
 troops, who ■■■■ directed to put themselves under his ■■■■  
 mand. ■■■■ appointed Governor of Guianes, and then of  
 Boulogne, which with surprising activity ■■■■ put into that  
 state of defence which its importance demanded. His vigi-  
 lance was unceasing, as was ■■■■ in the enterprises  
 which ■■■■ almost daily undertook against the French quarters  
 in his neighbourhood. ■■■■ seemed to have gained the confi-  
 dence of Henry, with whom he was allowed to correspond  
 immediately on the conduct of the war, when a check which  
 he suddenly received in an action with their main body, near  
 Montreuil, where the English infantry, which he that day  
 personally commanded, basely abandoned him, gave great  
 offence ■■■■ capricious Prince. No expression of ■■■■  
 however, immediately occurred, but he was soon after virtu-  
 ally superseded by the appointment ■■■■ Seymour, ■■■■ of

Hertford, the chief [redacted] in France, [redacted] received intimation [redacted] the King desired to confer with [redacted] the [redacted] of Boulogne, which he had no sooner left than a successor [redacted] the government of [redacted] [redacted] appointed, and soon after his arrival in London, he was sent a prisoner to Windsor Castle.

Such has been the received report of this precise period of Surrey's life, but [redacted] modern inquiry has brought to light [redacted] unconnected notices which lead [redacted] infer that his partial military failure [redacted] probably but a secondary cause of disgust in the irregular mind of his master. [redacted] most [redacted] markable of [redacted] are contained in a letter from the Duke, [redacted] father, to the Lords of [redacted] Council, in which he requests them to thank the King for having advertised him of his son's " [redacted] demeanour ;" [redacted] adds, " Well, I pray God he may [redacted] remember, and not [redacted] much [redacted] his [redacted] wit ;" and, " I desire you that my son [redacted] be [redacted] earnestly handled, that [redacted] may have regard hereafter so to [redacted] himself [redacted] may give [redacted] Majesty no [redacted] of discontent." It [redacted] almost needless to observe [redacted] these [redacted] could [redacted] by possibility have been [redacted] refer to any fault [redacted] fortune in his military conduct. The true import of them will probably ever remain unknown. In [redacted] time [redacted] been thought [redacted] Hertford, then the rising favourite, and of consequence jealous [redacted] the Howards, had prejudiced the king against him. Certain [redacted] is that Surrey, irritated to the utmost by the revocation of his command in France, had indulged in bitter and contemptuous remarks and sarcasms [redacted] Hertford, to whose influence he ascribed it, and [redacted] even menaced him with revenge under [redacted] reign, a threat most offensive to Henry, whose health [redacted] then daily declining ; and Hertford [redacted] supposed [redacted] have heard and repeated those speeches to [redacted] King. These, however, [redacted] but conjectures : all that [redacted] safely affirmed is, [redacted] amidst this obscurity the downfall of Surrey originated.

His restraint in Windsor Castle was short. We [redacted] [redacted]



afterwards a party in several Court ceremonies in the presence of the King, who is recorded to have treated him on those occasions with complacency. On the twelfth of December, 1546, he was suddenly arrested, as was the Duke, his father, who had on that day arrived in London. It should be noted that nothing in the shape of evidence against Surrey had been yet collected, or, if it had, that the Privy Council was ashamed to hear it, for, on his appearance before them, silence was scarcely broken but by his demand for a public trial. He was committed to the Tower, and several weeks passed before that ceremony, for which he deserved a better name, was permitted. At length he was indicted for Norwich of high treason, on the sole charge of having quartered on his father the body of Edward the Confessor, which was construed a tacit claim to the regal succession, and a special commission was issued for his trial in the Guildhall in London. To give some colour to impartiality to the proceeding, a jury was summoned from Norfolk, a county under the influence of his family. In addition to the solitary accusation of the indictment, he was proved against him but that he had a coronet somewhat resembling a royal crown, which was stated by his sister, the Duchess of Richmond, who, strange to tell! voluntarily presented herself for that purpose, as well as to disclose some vague private conversations which had passed between them. On these charges, incredible as it might seem, he was found guilty of high treason, and on the nineteenth of January, 1547, two days after his mock trial, and only nine before the death of the tyrant to whose insane barbarity he fell a sacrifice, was beheaded on Tower Hill. His body was interred in the church of All-hallows, Barking, but was removed from thence, in the year 1614, to Framlingham, in Suffolk, where it lies under a superb monument, erected in his memory by his second son, Henry, Earl of Northampton.

His first wife, Surrey's lady, who was remarried to John

Stayning, a gentleman of the county of Somerset, has already been mentioned. He left issue by her two sons—Thomas, who became fourth Duke of Norfolk of his family; and Henry, of whom we have just now spoken: and three daughters—Jane, married to Charles Neville, last Earl of Westmoreland; Catherine, to Henry, nineteenth Lord Berkeley; Margaret, to Henry, Lord Scrope of Bolton.







NEV





## HENRY THE EIGHTH.

THIS Monarch—and surely no one who swayed sceptre was that title, in its strictest sense, more justly due—was born the twenty-eighth of June, 1491. He had once the education of a Prince and a Prelate, and indeed it has been said that his frugal father had intended to place him at the head of the English church: the premature death however of his elder brother, Arthur, invested him with the inheritance of the throne, which he mounted, upon the death of Henry the Seventh, on the twenty-second of April, 1509. His accession was marked by the most auspicious circumstances: his kingdom was in a state of perfect tranquillity at home, and in amity with the nations of Europe, and the treasure left him by his father was enormous. His youth, his fine person, the liveliness of his disposition, his love of splendour, and his devotion to manly and vigorous exercises, won the hearts of his subjects, and the union in himself of the two mighty Houses which had so long contended for the Crown had unquestionably augmented his power to rule them. His reign began with a popular sacrifice, and Sir Thomas Empson, and Richard Dudley, who had been the chief ministers to his father's avarice, were on the scaffold; meanwhile the question, big with unforeseen and mighty consequences, of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, widow of his brother Arthur, was agitated as a matter of state policy, and speedily settled, when they espoused on the sixth of June, following, the death.



■ was unlikely that ■ Prince young, haughty, wealthy, ■ inexperienced, should allow ■ country long to enjoy the advantages of peace. Pope Julius ■ Second, whose genius ■ altogether warlike and political, had been for some time engaged in a quarrel with France on the affairs of Italy which had divided the powers of the continent into two rancorous parties. He ■ made overtures to Henry, and the ■ effectually to gain ■ assistance, had offered not only to declare him head of the Italian league, but to transfer to him the title of "■ Christianissimus," ■ highly cherished by ■ French Monarchs. Henry consented, and the ■ readily because Ferdinand, ■ Queen's father, had lately adopted the same ■. It ■ agreed that he should invade France from the Spanish frontier, which he did, with ten thousand men, to ■ purpose, while ■ naval force engaged with better success in the English Channel. In ■ mean time Ferdinand ■ to perform his part by marching an army into Navarre, ■ country, with the ■ view, which he accomplished, of annexing the ■ of it to his own dominions, and leaving the rest to be taken possession of by the French, and virtually abandoned ■ league. Henry however continued to prosecute ■ part of ■ with vigour; renewed with Leo the Tenth the engagements ■ he ■ made with Julius, lately ■; induced the Emperor, by the payment of ■ large subsidy, ■ declare against France; and in the ■ of 1513 passed over into that country in person, at the head of ■ powerful army, to ■ a campaign of three months, more distinguished by ■ romantic splendour and gallantry than by any important military exploits. It ■ during this his short absence that the ■ with Scotland, in which its King, James the Fourth, paid with ■ the forfeit for his attachment ■ France, began and ended; and Henry received the trophies of the victory of Flodden Field while he ■ besieging Tournay, ■ surrendered to him ■ the following day. A ■ months however produced a peace with France. Henry,

enraged by [ ] duplicities on the part of his father-in-law, [ ] also of the Emperor Maximilian, not only signed suddenly a treaty [ ] alliance [ ] Louisa, but gave his beautiful sister Mary in marriage to [ ] Prince, who was nearly forty years older than herself, and who survived the nuptials scarcely three months.

[ ] at this period [ ] the King's favour to that extraordinary person Thomas Wolsey became evident. He [ ] Dean of Lincoln, in which station Henry had found him when [ ] succeeded to the Crown, and [ ] necessary had his presence become to his master, that when the army [ ] equipped for the late voyage to France, the [ ] of victualling it was ridiculously committed to him, as a pretext for his personal attendance. He [ ] soon after the King's return the sole director of his policy, and the chief partner in his pleasures. He was invested, as it [ ] at once, with the richest and most powerful ecclesiastical dignities of the realm; [ ] appointed High Chancellor; and at length [ ] ated a Cardinal. Francis the First, who had succeeded to the throne of France, and the Emperor Charles the Fifth, the two most powerful Princes of Europe, conscious of his influence over Henry, courted him with adulation even servile. In their contest for the friendship of [ ] Monarch, Charles, who [ ] the better politician, prevailed. Francis had paid Henry the compliment of soliciting that interview with him which passed [ ] the French coast in 1520 with such chivalrous magnificence, but Charles [ ] visited him in his [ ] dominions immediately before his departure to it; won his heart with schemes of grandeur; and, which [ ] probably more effectual, presented Wolsey with the [ ] of two rich bishoprics in Spain, and promised [ ] interest in raising him to the Papedom, to which he already aspired. A [ ] ensued between [ ] Princes in the succeeding year, [ ] a treaty, in which Henry assumed ineffectually the character of mediator, [ ] his interference ended in an offensive alliance between himself, the Emperor, and the Pope, against

Francis. The negotiation, by which he engaged to invade France in the following summer with forty thousand men, was concluded at Bruges by Wolsey.

Soon after the King's return, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the most powerful subject in the realm, was put to death for having expressed to the King the possibility that he might succeed to the Crown. This has usually been ascribed to the resentment of Wolsey, who had a private quarrel with him, but perhaps ought more properly to be considered as the commencing article in the long catalogue of Henry's rapacities and cruelties.

Little remained of the great wealth which he had by his father, and the attainder of Buckingham furnished a rich prize to an exhausted treasury. It was indeed about this period that Henry's character began to assume that deformity, the records of which have tended to cast doubts on the truth of history. Unemployed for a short interval, he was burning for distinction wherever it might possibly be found, he burst forth suddenly as a polemic champion against the Church which he deemed after his manner convenient to demolish; attacked Luther, and the new doctrines, with all the weapons of school divinity, in which he was well versed; and presented a book to the Pope, who rewarded his apparent zeal by conferring on him the title of "Defender of the Faith." He now received a second visit from the Emperor, who renewed with him the treaty of the preceding year; the promised invasion of France followed, and passed off in comparatively insignificant depredations near the coast in Brittany and Normandy. A war with Scotland, of the same inferior character, succeeded, and was prosecuted with indifferent success for more than a year. Henry's object in all his intercourse with that country, either as a friend or an enemy, was to detach it from its alliance with France, but his policy was not sufficiently refined to deceive the deep-sighted people in negotiation, and his purse was too weak to furnish the means of decisive warfare. It was now that he began to raise money

by loans, by warlike benevolences ; perplexed by their tedious operation ; summoned a and convocation, and, finding them unwilling to grant the supplies he required, awed them into compliance by threatening to cut the heads of who most steadily opposed themselves to will.

France, however seriously menaced, hitherto suffered little from of her powerful enemies, when her monarch plunged suddenly into the deepest calamity. determined to attempt the conquest of Milanese ; invaded Italy ; and, having siege to Pavia, unexpectedly attacked by the Imperialists ; army completely routed under the walls of that city, and himself taken prisoner. Henry, whose conduct in his league with Charles, and in the management of his of war, had already displayed little policy, took a step which astonished Europe. Incited by personal slights which he of late received from the Emperor, as well as by a jealousy of his overweening power, and perhaps yet more by a capricious generosity, he formed a treaty with the French Regent, and engaged to procure Francis his liberty. That Prince however after obtaining it by an almost pardonable breach of his parole, and on the eighteenth of September, 1527, concluded a London alliance with Henry, who took this occasion to renounce for ever all claim to the Crown of France.

While these passed, events not less important than surprising silently approaching in England. The King had resolved to repudiate Catherine. On that great affair, certainly a considerable in in consequences, and perhaps the best known understood in modern history, it would be impertinent to dilate here. It may not be too bold to say, that that question motives determination long ceased. now venture to urge on his behalf those scruples of conscience

which his earlier apologists gave him credit. Nay, in vain for a single act Henry's which might authorise us to suspect that he had a conscience. Incitements in this case were of the most simple and ordinary nature—an appetite too gross to be expressed in the terms which might properly denote it, and a policy too obvious to deserve the praise of sagacity—his inclination to the person of Anna Bullen, and his desire to become the father of an heir with unquestionable title. The Pope, Clement Seventh, naturally timid, at that time a prisoner in the hands of the Emperor, who was nephew to Catherine, evaded all endeavours to induce him to dissolve marriage by his own authority, but at length consented to grant a commission to Wolsey, and another Cardinal chosen by himself, to try its validity. King and Queen were cited to appear before them, and obeyed the summons. Henry of course acknowledged the authority of the court, but Catherine demurred, and, having justified herself at the spot by an unexpected display of the King, the prudent and pathetic features of which will always render it a classical ornament to our history, departed, and refused all future attendance. The Court however proceeded, though slowly, in the exercise of its functions, and the convocations of Canterbury and York decreed at length the invalidity of the marriage. Henry was in daily expectation of a definitive sentence, when the Pope suddenly adjourned the consideration of the case to Rome, where a favourable decision was hopeless.

The wrath excited in the King's mind by this disappointment was somewhat appeased by the sacrifice of Wolsey, whose favour had been for some time declining. Parties the most discordant joined in accelerating his fall. Catherine and her rival were equally his enemies. His favour at Rome had been impaired by his assiduity in promoting the divorce, and he offended the English clergy by conniving at those partial spoliations of the church which formed a prelude to

the [ ] was detested by [ ] nobility for usurping a magnificence which they could not reach. Above all, Henry had determined [ ] renounce the authority [ ] the Papal See, a resolution to [ ] practice [ ] which Wolsey's ecclesiastical [ ] political existence could not but have been a constant impediment. He was prosecuted under [ ] obsolete law, for the breach of which he had long since received [ ] general indemnity, signed by the King; received an ample pardon; was again prosecuted on the same charges; and saved himself from the [ ] by dying of a broken heart. Henry now attacked the whole body of his clergy, under colour of the authority of [ ] same statute, and they purchased their pardon by the payment of a great sum; proceeded to deprive the church of Rome of [ ] important part of the ancient [ ] which it derived from England; and procured a vote of parliament, ordaining that any [ ] which the Pope might issue against those acts should be utterly disregarded. In the mean time the Queen despatched an appeal to Rome on the question of the divorce, and he received a citation to answer it, which he did very effectually by almost instantly marrying Anne Bullen. The evidence which had been given, and the decree uttered by the convocations two years before, were [ ] deemed all-sufficient, [ ] Cranmer, the Primate, with no other authority, by a formal [ ] annulled the King's marriage with Catherine, and ratified [ ] union with Anne. The parliament however presently after confirmed that sentence, and by a special act [ ] inheritance of the Crown on the issue [ ] Anne. [ ] same Parliament declared [ ] King "the only supreme head of the Church of England."

Henry, [ ] whom [ ] modes of [ ] were indifferent, [ ] not perhaps yet contemplated [ ] establishment in England of [ ] persuasion. [ ] objects were, first, to shake [ ] Papal authority, and [ ] render [ ] wealth of [ ] Church subservient to [ ] occasional necessities. [ ] Reformation [ ] but an [ ] consequence of [ ] efforts [ ]

those ends. At this period therefore, while he shed the blood of several persons, at the head of whom were the illustrious More and Fisher, for asserting the Pope's supremacy, he consigned many to the stake for denying the Catholic tenets. He had already suppressed a great number of the religious houses, and his Parliament had possessed him of their revenues, and was proceeding to bolder confiscations, when his attention was for a moment diverted to a domestic concern. Anne's charms had ceased to please, and he had given way to a new sensual partiality. The unfortunate and beautiful Queen, to whose innocence posterity implicitly subscribed, was put to death, with several other persons, among whom was her brother; and on the same day, or, as some say, on the third day after, he married Jane Seymour, the daughter of a private gentleman. A Parliament not less subservient than that which had settled the crown on his issue by Anne, paid him on this occasion the compliment of bastardizing his daughters by his two former Queens, and decreeing the inheritance to the issue of this new marriage.

As the breach with the Pope widened, the certainty of a total change in the national religion became daily more manifest. The convocation, in which those of the two persuasions were nearly equally balanced, at length promulgated, with Henry's sanction, certain articles of faith, comprising a heterogeneous mixture of the doctrines of each party, some of which evidently pointed at the downfall of the regular priesthood. The people, moved not less by the actual interest which they had in the maintenance of that body than by their own pious feelings, rose in numerous masses, which for want of leaders were presently subdued; and Henry, in defiance, proceeded without delay to the suppression of the larger monasteries, and the assumption of their extensive revenues. Still however the people's unqualified rejection of the new religion. An unaccountable caprice prompted him to become the champion of transubstantiation.

He was even enough to debate that question publicly in Westminster Hall, in all the pomp of royalty, surrounded by spiritual and temporal, was an obscure individual, was presently after committed to the flames for maintaining his opinion in that conference, and many others were about the same time burned also for denying the real presence. found the system lately framed by the convocation utterly impracticable, endeavoured to simplify and explain by extorting from the Parliament that terrific act well known by the name of the Law of the Six Articles, in which the favourite tenets of the Church of Rome enforced by penalties of unheard-of severity: at the same time he flattered the reformers by many concessions; particularly by an unqualified permission to in their family worship the English version of the Scriptures, but this liberty was soon after confined to gentlemen and merchants. There was, however, no safety, amidst the various, frequently contradictory regulations of time, for those who professed either with undisguised zeal, and numbers of each were put to death, frequently with circumstances of wanton barbarity. New forms of doctrine and discipline contrived. A compendium of was published under the title of "The Institution of a Christian Man," varying in many instances from those which had preceded them; and this again was shortly after followed by the publication of an improved scheme of orthodoxy, "The Erudition of a Christian Man." These, particularly the latter, are believed to have been composed by Henry's own hand, and were certainly uttered under the express authority of the King and Parliament. Fortunately for the unhappy people who were doomed to submit to his rule, he became at length bewildered amidst the confusion which himself had created, and left the jarring elements of his reformation to be reconciled and arranged by the wiser heads, sincere hearts, cleaner hands of suc-



All activity in this great work now ceased but that of the accuser, the judge, and the executioner.

Jane Seymour had died in giving birth to a son, afterwards Edward Sixth, and Henry had been for two years a widower, when he resolved to seek a consort in the Protestant Courts of Germany. Cromwell, whom he had raised from abject obscurity, and whose busy and profitable agency in what may be called the German branch of the reformation had made him a minister of state and a favourite, proposed to him Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves. This connection was politically desirable, and a portrait of the Princess by Hans Holbein obtained the King's approbation. He espoused her, but on her arrival in England, finding her coarse, both in person and manners, conceived an unconquerable aversion to her, which he expressed to his confidants by calling her "a great French mare." He completed the marriage, however, and, for a while concealing from others his aversion, employed himself in devising the most convenient means by which he might dispose of her, when a violent object of appetite cut short his deliberations. He became enamoured of Catherine Howard, a niece to the Duke of Norfolk, who might at this time be called his minister, and whose envy and hatred concurring with the disgust which Cromwell had excited in Henry's mind by promoting his late unlucky marriage, wrought suddenly the downfall of the remarkable career of various fortunes. Cromwell was arrested by Norfolk at the Council Board, charged with treason and heresy, and beheaded, without examination or trial; Anne was divorced without a single legal plea against her, or a tittle of evidence, and she was declared high treason to deny the dissolution of her marriage; and the perpetration of all these enormities by an English Parliament, together with the celebration of the nuptials of Henry with Catherine Howard, occupied but the space of six weeks, in the summer of the year 1540.

Catherine possessed youth, beauty, talents, and politeness, and the raptures with which Henry professed to cherish ~~his~~ new connection exceeded all ordinary bounds. Not contented with offering ~~a~~ a prayer ~~in~~ his own chapel in testimony ~~of~~ gratitude for it, ~~he~~ commanded ~~the~~ Bishop of Lincoln to compose ~~a~~ regular form of public thanksgiving to the ~~same~~ ~~cause~~. In ~~the~~ midst of these extravagancies, ~~she~~ communicated to him by Cranmer that she had indulged, before her marriage, and perhaps after, in the ~~most~~ profligate libertinism, and had ~~even~~ chosen her paramours from among ~~the~~ ~~persons~~ of her grandmother, the ~~late~~ Duchess of Norfolk. He ~~was~~ said ~~to~~ have wept when ~~she~~ received the intelligence. The Queen, and the parties with whom ~~she~~ ~~was~~ offended, were proceeded against by attainder, and put to death. Two remarkable acts of Parliament were now passed; the one constituting it high treason to conceal in future any knowledge, or even strong suspicion, of similar guilt in ~~a~~ Queen Consort; and the other, ~~was~~ though to reach the climax of ~~the~~ tyranny, enacting that any ~~person~~ whom the King might propose to marry, having previously forfeited her honour, should also be subjected to the penalties of high treason if she did not disclose her guilt to him previously ~~at~~ her nuptials.

It ~~was~~ fortunate for Henry, amidst the difficulties, public and domestic, into which for the ~~last~~ ten years he had plunged himself and his people, that ~~he~~ should have suited the interests of neighbouring States to remain ~~in~~ ~~union~~ with him. The Emperor, ~~as~~ ~~a~~ ~~his~~ bitter enemy, ~~was~~ restrained by high political motives from attacking him. Francis, on the other hand, was his friend, as well from inclination ~~as~~ policy. Scotland ~~was~~ been too much distracted by factions during ~~the~~ long minority of ~~his~~ nephew, James the Fifth, to become ~~a~~ ~~factor~~. Henry himself ~~at~~ length interrupted this apparent concord. Excited by ~~a~~ jealousy not unreasonable of the ~~existing~~ union which existed between ~~the~~ the two latter princes, ~~he~~ by private resentment, ~~he~~

only because Francis had given in marriage to James, a Princess whom ■ intended to have demanded for himself, but on the ■ of a personal slight which he had received from the King of Scots, he seized the ■ moment ■ to break with both. He invaded Scotland with a powerful army, and was at first repulsed ; when James, flushed by the deceitful advantage, determined, against the ■ of ■ nobility and commanders, to pursue his invaders into their own country ; ■ utterly routed ■ Solway Frith ; and died, as is said, of grief, on the fourteenth of December, 1542, exactly three weeks after his defeat. With him this short war also expired ; a treaty was concluded, the principal feature of which was a stipulation for the marriage of his ■ daughter, afterwards the celebrated Mary, to the young ■ of Wales, which ■ is almost needless to say was never ■

The articles concluded on, however, especially the latter, were beheld by the Scots with disgust and dread. They ■ country falling gradually under the domination ■ Henry, ■ appealed to the old friendship of Francis, who readily engaged ■ them, ■ very probable event ■ a renewal of warfare with England, with troops ■ money. ■ negotiation ■ became known to Henry, ■ he ■ no time in resenting it. ■ suddenly ■ a league ■ Emperor, and they agreed to furnish ■ army, each ■ twenty-five thousand men, for the invasion ■ France, chiefly under the pretence of chastising ■ King for having formed an alliance with the Grand Signor. Henry now assembled ■ Parliament, which not only granted him ample supplies for the prosecution of ■ war, but went even further than ■ of its compliant predecessors towards ■ rendering into his hands the whole legislative authority. ■ expressly recognised and strengthened a former law by which ■ King's proclamations were declared equivalent to statutes, ■ constituted a tribunal for facilitating ■ operation of such manifestations of the royal will, and for punishing those

who might disobey them. The year in which he received this monstrous concession, 1543, was further rendered what ~~more~~ by an ~~event~~ of smaller importance; his marriage with Catharine Par, the widow already of two

high-sounding confederacy between Henry the most powerful Prince in Europe produced no important results. Their campaign, in which no very active part fell to the English, ended with little actual advantage to either party, with increased credit to the military reputation of France; and the second was more distinguished by a peace, in the treaty for which Henry was not even named, suddenly concluded between the Emperor and Francis, than by any notable exploit in the field. It had been in fact a of sieges, and Henry's reduction of Boulogne, which rendered to him in person, may perhaps be considered as its important feature. He returned, full of chagrin, to the consolation of yet further augmented power. A Parliament, which met in the of the two years of the war, had, in submission to his dictates, recognised the right of his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, to their proper places in the line of succession to the throne; empowered him, however, to exclude them, should they incur displeasure; left unrepealed the by which they had formerly been declared illegitimate; and, finally, invested him expressly with the right, should chance to childless, to give the Crown, by his will, by letters patent, to whomsoever he might think fit. Not content with enacting these fearful absurdities, Parliament not only absolved him obligation to repay a late loan, but actually ordained that such of the lenders as had already been reimbursed should refund into Exchequer several sums which they respectively received.

Before Henry passed over into France, he renewed the war with Scotland. A powerful army, which had been transported by sea to Leith, to Edinburgh, which they

plundered, mostly burned, and, having horribly ravaged the country, the of that city, returned almost without loss. Another inroad, made in the autumn of the year, 1544, was less successful. The English were chased within their borders, leaving behind them many slain, and more prisoners; reinforced, and became again in their turn the assailants. At length, after a year had passed in that barbarous predatory warfare which distinguished the border contests, a treaty of peace was signed with the King of France, in which Scotland, at the instance of that Prince, was included. Henry, thus disengaged, once more recurred to ecclesiastical speculations. Some remnants of Church property yet remained untouched. The Parliament from which he had of late received such surprising proofs of blind and senseless devotion, possessed him of the revenues of the chantries, hospitals, and free chapels, and even of those of universities. The latter he graciously declined to accept, and hence only, with the exception of his foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, acquired the reputation of encourager of learning, and a patron of science. So accustomed had the nation become to the expectation of his arbitrary invasions of property, and of its practice of an implicit submission to them, that hailed forbearance as an emanation of the highest generosity, and acknowledged it by the most absurd and misplaced flattery.

In renewed labours to establish a uniformity of faith, or at least worship, he was perplexed by and difficulties. The Prelates, Cranmer and Gardiner, the zealous Protestant, and of pure simplicity, the other, the very crafty but determined advocate for the old religion, alternately advisers, and his endeavours to select truth and justice from the contrariety of their counsels, destitute of piety or wisdom. sought to soothe the irritation which he suffered from these vexations and disappointments, and from a rapid abatement of health, by persecution. Several persons brought

stake for denying, or rather for doubting, the favourite doctrine of transubstantiation, and the Queen was saved by her own wit and sagacity from falling a victim to his suspicion. She wavered at that point. But a most unexpected sacrifice of another sort closely impended. Henry had secretly determined to shed the blood of his faithful and long tried minister and general, the Duke of Norfolk, and his admirably accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey. They were suddenly arrested, and, without a single proof of guilt, indeed almost without a single specific charge, arraigned of high treason, and condemned to die. It were charity to the memory of the tyrant to suppose, somewhat strange that a conjecture seemingly so obvious should before have occurred, that this last superlative enormity might be ascribed to the insanity which sometimes increases the horrors of approaching death. As it may, Surrey was led to the scaffold, and presently after, Henry, having on that very day, the twenty-eighth of January, 1547, signed an order for the execution of the Duke on the morrow, himself expired.













## QUEEN CATHARINE PAR.

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OF **THE** Lady, in whose society Henry the Eighth, **THE** with **THE** gratification of all **THE** rudest passions and appetites, **A** length sought the charms of domestic comfort, history gives **■** less information than might have been expected. She certainly possessed considerable talents, and with **■** discretion might perhaps have acquired a greater fame. Suddenly elevated from private **■** to sovereign dignity, and by the hand of the most cruel and capricious Prince of his time, **■** had **■** dread equally the envy of the rank from which he had been removed, and the jealousy of him who had raised her from it. To shun those perils, she avoided as much **■** possible all interference in public affairs; devoted to the studies for which an **■■■■■** education had qualified her most of the hours which could be spared from the kindest attention to **THE** King's increasing infirmities; and infused into her conversation with **■** others, **■** invariable affability, and **■** simplicity and even humility of manners, which, in **■** of her station, perhaps bordered on impropriety. **■** descended from a family of no great antiquity, but which had been somewhat distinguished in public service, and was one of **■** two daughters of Sir Thomas Par, **■** Kendal, by Claud, daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Greene, **■** Greene's Norton, in Northamptonshire. **■** **■** been married **■** early life to Edward Borough, eldest son of Thomas, Lord Borough **■** Gainsborough; who dying **■** after, **■** took **■** her second husband John Nevile, Lord Latimer, by whom also she was left a widow having had **■** children by either.

Henry married her, his sixth Queen, at Hampton Court, on the twelfth of July, 1543, when she was about thirty-four. "In the concluding another match," Herbert, with archness, "he found a difficulty; for, as he had been declared death for any whom the King should marry to conceal her incontinency in former time, so few durst venture into those bonds with a King who had, as they thought, much facility in dissolving them. Therefore they stood off, knowing in what slippery estate they if the King, after his receiving them to bed, should, through any mistake, declare them no maids. That now he upon the Lady Catharine Par, widow to the Lord Latimer, who, she was esteemed a lady of much integrity and worth, and maturity of years, so the King, after marriage, lived apparently well with her, for the most part."

Only a single instance, indeed, of discord between them been recorded, and it nearly proved fatal to her. Catharine a zealous Protestant: Henry, having gained the private ends at which he aimed in the reformation, had of late years judged it convenient to soothe the Church of Rome with some concessions. With this view he enjoined the observation of his memorable six articles, and prohibited the publication of English translations of the New Testament. The Queen had presumed to argue with him on these, and other imperfections, in the performance of his great work; and the Romanists of the court and council, who secretly entertained strong hopes of the re-establishment, least in good part, of the ancient faith, began to consider her as a formidable enemy, and determined to use all means to ruin her. A singular opportunity soon presented itself to them, the origin and consequences of which I shall relate somewhat in detail, not only for the sake of probable truth, but the simple impressive terms of the unacknowledged authority on which historians of his reign have given somewhat the anecdote, in such scraps, more or less, as happened best

to agree with their several humours, or to suit their convenience. authority is John Fox, whom I quote abridgment of his book; highly probable, considerations which the compass of work will not allow me state, that the relation was derived from Catharine herself, and it may, perhaps, be in her own words.

After some introductory matter, we are that "the King, in later end, grew oppinate, and would be taught, nor contented withall by argument; yet towards her he refrained accustomed manner, for never handmaide sought more to please her mistresse than she to please his humour; and she of such singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, wherein the King greatly delighted. But Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Wrisley" (Wriothesley) "Lord Chancellor, and others of the King's privy chamber, practised her death, that they might the better stop the passage of gospel; and, having taken away the patronesse of the professors of the truth, they might invade the remainder with fire and sword; but they durst not speake to the King touching her, because they the King loved her well. At length the King sicke of a legge, which made him very froward, and the Queene being with him, did not all occasions to moove him zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The King shewed tokens of mislike, and broke off the matter, and knit up the arguments with gentle words, and, after pleasant talke, she took her leave. Bishop of Winchester being there, the King immediately upon her departure, used words—'It a good hearing when women become such clarks, and much comfort to come in mine old to taughte by my wife.' Then the Bishop shewed a mislike the Queene would so much forget herself to stand in argument with his Majestie, whose judgement and divinitie he extolled to his face above Princes of that and other ages, and of doctors professed in divinitie: and that it was unseemly for any

of his subjects to argue with him so malapertly ; and that it was greivous to all his counsellors and servants to heare the same : inferring how perilous it hath ever been for a Prince to suffer such insolent words of a subject, who, as they are bold against their Sovereigne's words, so they want not will, but strength, to overthrow them in deeds."

Fox, having detailed much similar argument used by Gardiner, tells us that " he crept so farre into the King ■ that time, that he, and his fellowes, filled the King's mistrustful minde with such feares that the King gave them warrant to consult together about drawing of articles against the Queene wherein her life might be touched. Then they thought it best to begin with such ladies as she most esteemed, and were privy to ■ her doing ; ■ the Lady Harbert, after Countesse of Pembroke, the Queene's sister ; and the Lady Lane," (who ■ her first cousin,) " and the Lady Tirwit, all of her privy chamber ; and to accuse them upon six articles ; and to search their closets and coffers, that they might finde somewhat to charge the Queene ; and that being founde, the Queene should be taken, and carried in a barge by night to the Tower, of which advice the King was made privy by Gardiner, and the Lord Chancellor, to which they had the King's consent, and the time and place appointed. This purpose was so finely handled that it grew within few daies ■ the time appointed. and the poore Queene suspected nothing, but after her accustomed manner, visited ■ King, still to deale with him touching religion, as before."

We are then ■ that a copy of the articles of accusation was accidentally dropt by one of the council, and somehow found its way to the Queen, who was thereupon, as well she might, suddenly taken dangerously ill ; that Henry visited ■ with such ■ kindness that she soon after ■ sufficiently recovered to repair to ■ apartment, where he artfully contrived to turn the conversation to their old topic of debate. " But the Queene," says Fox, " perceiving to what purpose this his talke tended, " Your Majestie

'well know,' quoth shee, 'and I am not ignorant of, what great weakness by our first creation ■ allotted to us women, to be subject unto man as our head, from which head all our direction must proceed. And, as God made man after ■ own image, that, being indued with more speciall gifts ■ perfection, hee might be stirred to meditate heavenly things, and obey his commandements, so he made woman of man, of whom, and by whom, she is to bee commanded and governed, whose womanly weakness ought to bee ■ and ayded, that by his wisdom, such things as be lacking in her might be supplied : Therefore, your Majestie being so excellent in ■ of wisdom, and I so much inferiour in all respects of nature, why doth your Majestie in such diffuse causes of religion require my judgement, which, when I have uttered and said what I can, yet I must and will referre my judgement in this and ■ causes to your Majestie's wisdom, ■ my onely anker, supreme head, ■ the governor heere ■ earth next unto God ?'

" 'Not so, by St. Mary,' said the King, ' You are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us.'

" She answered, ' Your Majesty hath much mistaken mee, who have ■ thought it preposterous for the ■ instruct her husband, but rather to learn of him ; and, where ■ have bene bold to hold ■ with your Majestie whereof there ■ seemed some difference in opinion, I have not done it ■ maintaine opinion, ■ to minister talke, that your Majestie might with less grieve passe the paine of your infirmitie, being attentive to your talke ; and that I might receive ■ profit by your Majestie's learned discourses, wherein I have ■ missed any part of my desire, alwaies referring myselfe ■ such matters to your Majestie.'

" 'Then,' ■ the King, 'tendeth your argument to no worse end ? Then wee are now as perfect friendes as evert wee were.' And he embraced her, and kissed her : saying ■ did him more good to heare these words than if he ■ heard newes of a hundred thousand pound fallen to him.



"On the day that was appointed for the aforesaid tragedy the King went into his garden, whether the Queene, being sent for, came, onely the three ladies abovenamed waiting on her, with whom the King was as pleasant as ever hee was in his life. In the midst of his mirth, the houre appointed being come, the Lord Chancellor cometh into the garden, with forty of the King's guard at his beele, with purpose to bring the Queene, with the three ladies, to the Tower; whom the King, sternly beholding, called him a knave, who, on his knees, whispered to the King. The King cal'd him knave, arrant knave, and beastly foole. and commanded him to avant himself; which words the Queene heard, though they were low spoken. Then he departed, with his traine, his whole mould of device broken. The Queene, seeing the King thus chafed, spoke for the Lord Chancellor. 'Ah, my soule,' quoth hee, 'thou knowest how evill hee deserveth this grace at thy hands: he hath been towards thee, sweetheart, an arrant knave, and so let him goe.'" The style and manner of this narrative will be a sufficient apology for so lengthened a quotation.

Catharine's attachment, however, to the reformed religion was perhaps not wholly useless to Henry. When he departed in 1550 on his famous expedition to the Netherlands in France, he appointed her Regent during his absence, and, as Lord Herbert conceives, the Papists, who well knew her aversion to them, and it seems to have been the only mark of his political confidence that she ever received. He bequeathed her by his Will, in which he acknowledges "her great love, obedience, chasteness of life, and wisdom," in addition to her jointure, three thousand pounds in plate, jewels, and furniture, and one thousand pounds in money, a wretched legacy, valuable more as money than was, to a Dowager Queen.

Slenderly provided for, obnoxious to a very powerful party, and not without previous tenderness towards the object of her choice, she sought protection in a fourth marriage with Thomas Lord Seymour of Sudely, Lord Admiral of England,

brother to the Protector Somerset, which produced to the fatal consequences. Admiral, in whom other passions and sentiments way to inordinable ambition, which, for the time, had gratified by marrying the widow of his King, presently conceived a scheme for mounting yet a step higher by espousing the Princess Elizabeth, the curious circumstances of his intercourse with whom will be found in their proper place in work. While Catharine laboured under the miseries of jealousy on that account, she was assailed by the envy of the Duchess of Somerset, "a woman," says the chief writer of the reign of Edward the Sixth, "for many imperfections intolerable, but for pride monstrous." Neglected by a husband whom she loved, insulted by an inferior, and beholding a rival in her daughter-in-law, the Queen's constitution sunk under an accumulation of so many griefs. It has been commonly asserted that she died of child-birth, a report which, adverting to the fact that she had been childless in three previous marriages, might reasonably be doubted, notwithstanding the proof which we have from some of her letters to her husband that she believed herself to be pregnant. It has been said, too, with yet less probability, that she was taken off by poison. Both these statements may perhaps be fairly traced to the same source, the confession of her attendant, the Lady Tyrwhit, (see Hayne's and Murdin's Papers,) given in evidence on another occasion. That document informs us that the Queen, two days before her death, said, "that she dyd fere (qu. feel ?) such things in herself that she was suer she cold not lyve." That she used these words: "My Lady Tyrwhit, I am not wel handelyd; for thos that be about me caryth not for me, but standyth lawghyng at my greif; and the good I wyl to them, the less good they wyl to me." That the Admiral, whom she then had by her hand, said, "Why, sweetheart, I wold you be hurt:" to which she replied aloud, "No, Lord, I think so;" and imedyetly she turned to him, in

ere, "but, Lord, you have given me many tauntes." Afterwards, Lady Tyrwhit, spoke to "very rowndly and shartly (qu. sharply!) sayeng, My Lord, I would have geven a thousand markes to have had my full talke with Hewyke the first day I was *delivered*, but I doorst not, for displeasyng of you." The evidence for child-birth the poisoning to rest on the Queen's having used the words "delivered" and "fear;" for the other speeches ascribed to her in this conversation were but the ordinary reproaches which any woman might be expected to utter to an unkind husband.

died at Lord Seymour's at Sudely, in Gloucestershire, Wednesday, the of September, 1548, was buried in chapel of the castle. 1782, her tomb was opened, and the face, particularly the eyes, on removing the cerecloth which covered that part of her embalmed corpse, are said to have been found in perfect preservation. A de- account of this exhibition, and of odious negligence with which the royal remains were afterwards treated, found in the ninth volume of *Archæologia*.

Catharine learned, a lover of learning. The of her affection to literature, as well as to religion, induced University of Cambridge to implore her intercession with Henry on the occasion of the act which placed all colleges, chantries, &c., at the King's disposal. published, 1545, a volume of Prayers and Meditations, "collected," the title informs us, "out of holy woorkes;" and in some editions of this little book, for it was many times reprinted, may be found fifteen psalms, and some other small devotional pieces, mostly of her original composition. She wrote "The Lamentation of a Sinner, bewailing the Ignorance of her *Life*;" meaning the of Popery, in which had passed the earlier part of it. This printed after her death, with a preface written by Secretary Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley. In the former of these volumes we prayer "For says entring into battayle," which

affords a fair example ■ once of the benignity and humility of her disposition, and of the character of her style. "O Almighty King, and Lorde of hostes ! which, by thy angels thereunto appointed, doest minister both warre and peace ; and which diddest give unto David both courage and strength, being but a little one, unarmed, and unexpert in feats of warre, with his slinge to sette uppon and overthrowes the great huge Goliath ; our cause being just, and being enforced to entre into warre and battaile, we most humbly beseeche thee, O Lord God of hostes, sooe to turn the hearts of our enemyes to the desire of peace that no Christian bloud be spilt ; or els graunt, O Lorde, that, with small effusion of bloud, and to the little hurt and damage of innocentes, we may, to thy glory, obtayne victory ; and that, the warres being soone ended, we may all with one heart and minde ■ together in con corde and unitie, laude ■ thee, which livest and reignest world without end. Amen."













## THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR

OF [REDACTED]

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THIS eminent person, who seems to have possessed all the qualities necessary to form what the world usually calls a great man, except patience, was the third son of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, ■■■ Nettlested, ■■■ Suffolk. ■■■ family, which had stood for ages in the foremost rank of English gentry, was suddenly elevated by the marriage of his sister Jane to Henry the Eighth. It is well known that Edward, his eldest surviving brother, ■■■ by that Prince created Viscount Beauchamp, and Earl of Hartford, and that in the succeeding reign he was appointed by the council governor of the infant King, and Protector of the realm; obtained the dignity of Duke of Somerset, and perished ■■■ the scaffold. Both were eminently distinguished for military skill ■■■ gallantry, but Thomas ■■■ the advantage in talents; was remarkable for a general firmness of mind, a daring spirit of enterprise, and the loftiest ambition. He had served with the utmost merit and applause in Henry's wars against the French, and, in or about the year 1544, was placed for life in the post of Master of the Ordnance: on the accession of his nephew, ■■■ the Sixth, he was constituted Lord Admiral of England, created Baron Seymour of Sudeley, in Gloucestershire, and elected a Knight of the Garter. Till this period, these great men had manifested a mutual cordiality and confidence. The constant favour of Henry had

left [REDACTED] room for alarm in the timid breast of the one, and [REDACTED] haughty strictness of [REDACTED] rule [REDACTED] curbed the swelling pride of the other, but the [REDACTED] of that imperious Prince was the signal for their total disunion. The features of a plan of aggrandisement, which could not but have been pre-meditated presently disclosed themselves in the conduct [REDACTED] Seymour, and the [REDACTED] prominent of them appeared in [REDACTED] determination to connect [REDACTED] with royalty by marriage. It has been said, but the report is unsupported by historical evidence, that he first attempted to win the affections of the Princess Mary. If it [REDACTED] so, his advances must have been made, which is highly improbable, during [REDACTED] father's reign, for immediately after [REDACTED] Prince's death he paid [REDACTED] addresses to the Queen Dowager, Catharine Par, and with so little [REDACTED] that their more [REDACTED] ordinary intimacy became presently evident to the whole Court. Catharine [REDACTED] easily persuaded, for he had been [REDACTED] favoured suitor before her marriage to the King, and accepted [REDACTED] for her fourth husband, long [REDACTED] the formality of her ostensible mourning for Henry had expired.

The discord between [REDACTED] brothers may [REDACTED] historically [REDACTED] almost to the precise period of [REDACTED] marriage, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] been wholly ascribed to it by [REDACTED] writer equally remarkable for vehemence of prejudice, [REDACTED] carelessness of truth. Sanders, the well-known literary champion of Romanism, not content [REDACTED] observing, which he might probably have done [REDACTED] justice, that their quarrel originated in the hatred conceived by the Protector's lady, Anne Stanhope, [REDACTED] of intolerable pride and malice, against Catharine, would persuade [REDACTED] that its entire progress, [REDACTED] tragical termination, [REDACTED] directed solely by her influence. "There arose," says Sanders, "a very great contest between Queen Catharine Par [REDACTED] the Protector's wife who [REDACTED] have the precedence; and the [REDACTED] rested not in the women, but passed to the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] when [REDACTED] emulation continually increased, [REDACTED] Protector's wife would not [REDACTED] her husband alone, till at last

■ pass that the Protector, who, although ■ ruled the King yet was ruled by his wife, must cut ■ ■s brother, that nothing might be an hindrance to her will." Hayward, ■ able historian of that reign, without seeking for a ■ boration of this tale, for which he would have sought in vain, has adopted Sanders's report, and even enlarged on it, in more than one of those florid passages so frequent in his interesting work. The only document, however, on record which tends ■ prove, and that rather obscurely, ■ that any jealousy subsisted ■ the ■ of the marriage is ■ letter from Catharine to the Admiral, in the year 1548, preserved in Haynes's State Papers, which commences with these words, and then turns to other subjects. "Thyschalbe to advertysche yow ■ my Lord your brother hathe thys afternone a lyttell made me warme. Yt was fortunate ■ ■ much dystant, for ■ suppose els I schulde have bitten him. What ■ have they to feare havynge such a wyffe?" The truth is that Seymour, from the very hour of Edward's accession, ■ been meditating the means of supplanting his brother in ■ King's affections, and in the exercise of ■ public authority.

The Protector ■ not long unapprised of these designs. Even ■ early as the summer of 1547, while he was fighting victoriously in Scotland, ■ received intelligence that ■ brother ■ engaged in great and dangerous intrigues against him ■ home. Led astray as well by goodness of heart as weakness of judgment, he ■ framed the fantastic theory of building the strength of ■ government ■ the affection of the people, and had therefore courted the Commons ■ the expense of the Aristocracy. Seymour availed himself of ■ error, and industriously fomented the discontent which ■ had excited among the nobles, but his rashness impelled him to premature steps. Without sufficient preparation, ■ endeavoured to prevail ■ them ■ propose in Parliament the abrogation of ■ brother's high faculties, and the election ■ himself to the station of Guardian of the King's person ;

## THOMAS, LORD SEYMOUR

artfully, however, and with an affected modesty, declining the office of Protector, with the double view of securing his own interests him who might eventually be elected to it, and of controlling his government by the exercise of a secret influence upon the royal mind. He even prevailed upon Edward to write a letter to the Parliament, desiring them to appoint him to the office of those trusts. His suggestions, however, were received with coldness and disgust, and he resented the disappointment with the undisguised anger and the unguarded speeches of which to whom a just right had been denied. The Protector, on his return, unwillingly prepared to proceed against him as a public criminal, but accepted with eagerness the concessions and apologies which at length prevailed on to offer, but those motions on the Admiral's part were wholly insincere, and his ambitious resolutions perhaps acquired new vigour from the privacy with which he was now compelled to cherish them.

Artifice indeed seems to have been foreign from his nature, but he saw no alternative but to practise it or to abandon his designs. He again employed himself secretly to the young King; endeavoured to influence his passions with the desire of independent sway; told him that he was "a poor King, and could not pay his servants," and displayed the generosity of his disposition by supplying him privately with money; but the purity of Edward's heart, and the superiority of his mind, rendered these stratagems fruitless, while his affection to his uncle induced him, till the secret was at length wrung from him, to conceal them. In the mean time the increasing intimacy, of a singular and mysterious nature, was observed to subsist between the Admiral and the young Elizabeth, who had been placed, upon the death of her father, under the care of the Queen Dowager, and remained an inmate in her family after her marriage to Seymour. Elizabeth scarcely passed her fourteenth year, and his attentions to her seemed to have commenced with those innocent freedoms which it is usual to take with children.

Catharine herself was often a party in their levities. But it was not long before he addressed himself to her with privacy, or in the presence only of some of her principal attendants, whom ■ is evident he had secured to his interest. Elizabeth, on her part, became enamoured of him, and the Queen, after indulging an easy and unsuspecting temper, even to absurdity, was at length jealous, and procured the removal of the object of her uneasiness to the custody of others. On these curious circumstances history, which is not at all surprising, has been wholly silent. They have been disclosed by the publication, in that fine collection, Haynes's State Papers, of the unwilling testimonies of several persons preparatory to the prosecution ■ the Admiral, to which I must refer the reader for particulars too numerous, and, ■ instances, too ■ to be ■ recited. The motives to his conduct in the pursuit of this amour, ■ so ■ must be called, are scarcely doubtful. ■ the princess ■ surrendered her honour to ■ importunities, she could have bribed him to secrecy only by submitting to become his wife, a condescension which in ■ case he certainly intended to exact. Catharine, it is true, was then living, and in good health, but might easily have been put out ■ the way. ■ man at once powerful, active, ambitious ■ unprincipled, could at that time scarcely encounter an insurmountable difficulty. She died very soon after, not by poison, as has been reported, but in childbirth, ■ circumstance which presently succeeded effectually arrested the ■ of the Admiral's designs on Elizabeth.

Some time, however, was yet allowed to him ■ the contrivance of new schemes. Those considerations which ■ Edward's Council to put the Princess Elizabeth into the hands of Catharine Par had induced them to place Jane Grey also, who was next in succession to the Crown, in the same custody. After the death of Catharine, the Marquis of Dorset, father to Jane, became desirous to recal his daughter into the bosom of her family. Seymour under various pre-

texts, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ importunities, and, ~~on~~ being earnestly pressed, secretly represented to the Marquis the probability, should she ~~be~~ ~~be~~ permitted to remain under the protection of himself and his mother, that ~~he~~ might contrive to unite her in marriage to the young King. This overture, such was the coarseness of the age, was accompanied by a present of ~~one~~ ~~one~~ pounds, and Dorset accepted it, ~~and~~ submitted. The Admiral was actuated in this negotiation by two motives. Dorset, though a man of weak intellect, possessed a powerful influence, derived from his lady's relation in blood ~~to~~ the throne, from his great estates, and, above all, from the inno-~~cent~~ ~~and~~ integrity of his character. Seymour ~~was~~ anxious to ensure his support; ~~but~~ this was not all; the Protector, or, perhaps, rather his lady, ~~had~~ proposed their heir ~~as~~ a husband for Jane, and the Admiral was not less eager to thwart their views, than in the pursuit of his own. To his envy of his brother's greatness ~~a~~ private injury had lately added the desire of revenge. Henry had bequeathed to the Queen Dowager some estates, and certain valuable jewels, to the possession of neither of which she had been admitted. After her death, Seymour, seemingly with strict justice, claimed them of the Council, and that body, under the direction, ~~as~~ he conceived, of ~~the~~ Protector, refused to admit his claim.

Somerset, however, seems to have acted, through ~~the~~ whole ~~of~~ their contest, with the most exemplary patience and moderation, resulting from ~~a~~ rooted tenderness for his brother; but ~~the~~ discoveries, rapidly succeeding each other, ~~at~~ length compelled him, not only for ~~his~~ ~~own~~ security, but for ~~the~~ of the realm, to interpose ~~his~~ authority. In addition to the instances ~~which~~ have been already given of Seymour's dangerous disposition, ~~it~~ now appeared that he had seduced by presents and promises almost all those persons who had ready access to the King's person, and were most in his confidence; ~~and~~ he had propagated the most injurious reports of the secret policy of his brother's government, asserting,

raising a multitude of other calumnies, ■ he was raising  
 in Germany a mercenary force, by the aid of which he  
 ■ to establish a despotism in England ; that ■  
 established a formidable influence in every county ■  
 realm ; had computed that he could raise even among his  
 ■ tenants, servants, and retainers, ten thousand ■ ;  
 actually provided ■ for their use ; and had gained to ■  
 interests Sir John Sharington, Master of the Mint ■ Bristol,  
 who had engaged to supply him with money to equip them.  
 ■ Protector, thoroughly informed on all these points, ■  
 hesitated. ■ endeavoured ■ ■ try ■ effect of  
 entire confidence and affectionate persuasion ; reasoned ■  
 entreated with the coolness and impartiality of a disinterested  
 friend ; and strove, even at this late period, to reclaim his  
 brother's kindness and duty by new favours and distinctions.  
 Seymour, among whose ■ treachery and deceit ■  
 to have had no place, received ■ condescensions with a  
 haughty sullenness, and would ■ for nothing ; ■  
 Dudley, ■ of Warwick, ■ secret plans for raising  
 himself ■ ruins of the family of Seymour ■ already  
 approaching to maturity, seized ■ opportunity afforded by  
 this obstinacy of persuading the Protector to give up to his  
 ■ ■ by whose talents and courage they would pro-  
 bably have been rendered abortive. Somerset, thus influ-  
 enced, deprived his brother of the office of Admiral, ■ on  
 the sixteenth of January, 1549, O.S., signed a ■  
 ■ imprisonment in the Tower.

A committee of three Privy Councillors ■ ■ deputed  
 ■ take those examinations from which ■ of the foregoing  
 particulars of Seymour's offences have been derived ; ■  
 result ■ digested into thirty-three articles, which ■  
 laid before the Privy Council ; ■ that assembly went pre-  
 sently after in a body to the Tower to interrogate himself,  
 but he refused to answer ; demanded time to consider the  
 charges ; and a public trial, in which he might be confronted  
 with the witnesses. This was denied, and it was deter-



mined to prosecute him by a bill of attainder. No other instance perhaps can be found in which that suspicious and unpopular process had been at any time conducted with so much justice and fairness. It occupied exclusively the attention of the Parliament from the twenty-fourth of February till the fifth of March, and the multifarious facts alleged were canvassed with the most scrupulous exactness. The Peers, by whom it was passed unanimously, paid the compliment, unusual in those days, to the lower House, of permitting such of their own body as could give evidence on the case to be there examined *viva voce*; and in the latter assembly, more than four hundred members being on that day present, it was opposed only by nine or ten voices. The Protector, now, with a reluctant hand, signed a warrant for Seymour's execution, and, on the twentieth of March, he suffered death on Tower Hill, in a sullen silence, and with a courage so ferocious and desperate, as to have given occasion to Bishop Latimer to say, in his fourth sermon, that "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly; so that his end was suitable to his life, which was very vicious, profane, and irreligious."

Lord Seymour was never married, but to Catharine Par, who left to him an only daughter, Mary, born in September, 1548, who survived him, and was restored in blood almost immediately after his death, but died an infant.









## SIR ANTHONY DENNY.

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Amidst the horrible extravagances of ferocity and caprice which stain the annals of Henry the Eighth, we discover that he was not incapable of firm, and even tender, friendship. His attachments of ■■■ kind were few, but lasting, and their most remarkable objects were Brandon and Denny, ■■■ servants and companions of his younger days, from whom his affection seems ■■■ to have swerved. Denny appears ■■■ have ■■■ ■■■ of those unostentatious characters which seldom long survive their owners; to have avoided entirely the envied labours of the State; and, after his youth had passed away, even the splendour ■■■ ■■■ festivities of the Court. ■■■ merits, however, have not been left wholly unrecorded; but ■■■ ■■■ presumption of his general worth may ■■■ founded perhaps on the total silence of detraction, in a time equally factious, unprincipled, and uncharitable.

■■■ writers have insisted on the antiquity of ■■■ family, but ■■■ truth ■■■ ■■■ he was very ordinarily descended. Dugdale expressly ■■■ that he could discover none ■■■ ■■■ ancestors beyond his father, respecting whom also gross mis- ■■■ have been made in all printed authorities, in which he is uniformly stated to have been Thomas Denny, and to ■■■ married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Mannock. The Thomas who did so marry, was in fact one of the elder brothers of Anthony, who was the fourth, but at length second surviving ■■■ ■■■ Edmund Denny, ■■■ a clerk, afterwards remembrancer, ■■■ ■■■ length a Baron of the Exchequer, and their mother was Mary, daughter and heir of a gentleman

the of Troutbeck. Anthony born the eighteenth of January, the year 1500; commenced education at St. Paul's school; and completed it in St. John's College, in Cambridge, from whence he carried with him an eminent reputation for universal learning. By what good he obtained his introduction to the Court we are wholly ignorant, but it must have been at a very early time of life, and he seems to have acquired almost immediately not only Henry's favour, but his confidence. He was made a gentleman of the Privy Chamber, then an office immediately about the royal person, which he was after brought yet higher by the appointment of Groom of the Stole. He became the King's constant and familiar attendant in all his progresses, and in his magnificent excursions to the continent; combated with him in the jousts, and relieved the conversation of his private table by mingling with its gaieties the sober charms of science.

He had probably been an early convert to the new system of faith, for which, at all events, he showed an extraordinary zeal in the very commencement of the Reformation in England; but he is nowhere stigmatised as a persecutor, and indeed seems to have shunned all violence in the active measures by which that great event was accomplished. Few men, however, partook more largely in the spoil of the ancient Church. Henry granted to him in 1537 the dissolved Priory of Hertford, the manor of Butterwick, in the parish of St. Peter, in St. Alban's, and the rectory of the Rectory, and of the nunnery in Cheshunt, and of Great Amwell, all in the county of Hertford; and in 1540, several valuable lands, part of the possessions of Waltham Abbey, in Essex, to which about the same time was added a lease for thirty-one years of all the remaining estates of that rich house, the whole of which were afterwards gradually obtained in fee from Edward the Sixth by himself, and his widow. On the sixteenth of January, 1541, nearly all the demesnes of the yet more wealthy Abbey of St. Alban's were

settled by Act of Parliament — him and — heirs, including the manors, advowsons, and most of the lands, — eleven parishes, together with many extensive — in others. To these — gifts, amounting at the least to twenty thousand acres, in that part of the kingdom which — then in the highest state of cultivation, — all within thirty miles of the metropolis, the King — in 1544 the great wardship of Margaret, only daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Audley, the intermixture of whose — with his own — tributed — raise his influence in Essex and Hertfordshire into a — of dominion. — represented the latter county in the first Parliament of Edward the Sixth, — it is scarcely to be doubted — also in — preceding reign ; a fact of no great importance, which a large chasm in — public records leaves in uncertainty.

— not the distinction of Knighthood till after 1541, about which time he was sworn — the Privy Council ; — the thirty-first of August, 1546, he was joined in a — mission with two other trusty servants of the Crown to sign all public instruments in — King's — Henry had fallen into such weakness as — be incapable of performing that — with his — hand, — a stamp — prepared for — about — time, in imitation of his signature. — probable therefore that — high trust — exercised by Denny and his colleagues merely for the short interval between — commencement of the King's inability — completion of the stamp, which it has been pretty well — tained Henry used to apply with his own hand. In the succeeding January he attended — master's death-bed, and in the performance of his last duty gave a signal proof of his fortitude, as well — of his piety and fidelity. "The King continued in decay," says Barnet in his History of — Reformation, "till the twenty-seventh of the month, and then, many signs of his approaching — appearing, — would adventure — so unwelcome — thing — to put him in — his end, then imminent ; but Sir Anthony Denny



had the honesty and courage to do it, and desired him to prepare for death, and remember his former life, and to call on God for mercy, through Jesus Christ. Upon which the King expressed his grief for the sins of his past life, yet ■ said he trusted in the mercies of Christ, which were greater than they were. Then Denny moved him to call in the aid of a pious minister, and the King desired him to send for Archbishop Cranmer," &c. Henry appointed ■ of ■ Council to Edward the Sixth, and one of the executors of his will, in which he bequeathed to him a legacy of three hundred pounds.

Sir Anthony Denny did not long survive his royal friend. He died, little past the prime of life, ■ Chesbunt, on the tenth of September, 1549. Among the poems of Henry, Earl of Surrey, we find some lines, of no great interest, which seem to have been designed for his epitaph, and were therefore probably the work of ■ other pen, as Surrey died three years before him.

"Death, and the King, did, as it were, contend  
Which of them two bare Denny greatest love :  
The King, to show his love can far extend,  
Did him advance his betters far above :  
Near place, much wealth, great honour, ■ him gave  
■ make it known what power great princes have.

But when Death came, with his triumphant gift,  
From worldly cares he quit his wearied ghost,  
Free from ■ corpse, and straight to heaven ■  
Now deem that can who did for Denny most :  
The King gave wealth, but fading and ■  
Death brought him bliss that ever shall endure."

An epistle, however, addressed to him by Roger Ascham, affords ■ view of ■ character, particularly ■ the following remarkable passage—"Religio, doctrina, respublica, omnes curas tuas sic occupant ut extra has res nullum

tempus consumas." But the largest tribute extant to his memory is to be found in an heroic poem, by Sir John Cheke, published in Strype's life of that eminent person, from which I will beg leave to insert rather a long extract.

" Denotus venit ad superos, mortalia lingua,  
 Britannos inter claros—  
 Quis dignam illius factis vocem, quis premere verba  
 Possit, et excelsas laudes equare canendo?  
 Quis pietas, et quanta viri? Quis serwer in ille  
 Religionis erat? Quam parus cultus in illo  
 Coelestis patris? Quanta in Christum fidei vis  
 Extitit illius secreta morte redempti?  
 Munera quæ rursum? Quos & libavit homines  
 Justitiæque speique Deo? Quam victima laudis  
 Cæsa fuit? Grati cordisque orisquo diurna  
 Hostia, quam sæpe est hominum divinusque parenti  
 Oblata in Christo. Christianam hand innoxiam unquam  
 Ille fuit, propter divinam sanguine feco,  
 Mortem mortales quæ primum conciliavit,  
 Peccati, scelerisque, ruina, et pendere pressos.  
 Quid memorem Henricum clare de stammato Regem,  
 Henricum octavam totius, marisque potentem?  
 O quibus hic studiis, quo illum est amplexus amore,  
 Quem ■■■■ subjectumque bonum, servumque fidelm  
 Scribat, et officia hæc hand parvo munere pensans,  
 Ostendit se herumque bonum, Regemque benignum.  
 Consilliumque lepes quantum supradidit augeat,  
 Et juret optatas ad res bene consiliandas,  
 Ille alios tantum superat, qui sectere mentem  
 Henrici potuit, miscere nunc utile dulci,  
 Seria nunc levibus texens, nunc grandia parvis.  
 Quam facilem cursum hic aliis ad vota sequenda  
 Fecerat, atque ■■■■ facilem patefecit?  
 Quam bona multa aliis, et quam mala nulla cuiquam  
 Intulit? ■■■■ laudem summam virtutis habebat  
 Hujus, qui nullos nec apertos læserat hostes," &c.

Sir Anthony Denny ■■■■ Joan, daughter of Sir Philip

Champernown, of Medbury, in Devonshire, a lady of remarkable beauty and talents, and a zealous supporter of the reformed religion, which [REDACTED] openly avowed, to [REDACTED] hazard. Fox has recorded that she [REDACTED] money by her servants to [REDACTED] and courageous Anne Ayasoe, who afterwards suffered death at the stake, when a prisoner in the Compter. [REDACTED] brought [REDACTED] two sons, and three daughters. Henry, [REDACTED] eldest son, married, first, Honora, daughter [REDACTED] William, Lord Grey of Wilton; and, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Grey of Pyrgo; and had by the former an only son, Edward, who was by James the First [REDACTED] Denny, of Waltham, [REDACTED] Essex, and by Charles [REDACTED] First, Earl of Norwich, [REDACTED] dignities [REDACTED] extinct [REDACTED] his death, as [REDACTED] an only daughter, his sole heir, wife to James Hay, [REDACTED] of Carlisle. Sir Edward Denny, second son of [REDACTED] Anthony, married Margaret, daughter [REDACTED] Peter Edgcombe, of Mount Edgcombe, in Devonshire, by whom [REDACTED] was the ancestor of a family of his name now remaining in Ireland. The daughters were, Douglas, wife of Richard Dyve; Mary, married to Thomas Astley, a Groom of the Privy Chamber; and Honora, [REDACTED] Thomas Wingfield.









## EDWARD SEYMOUR,

PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONS.

Even a faint sketch of the life of such a person as the Protector Somerset can scarcely be expected in a work like this. Inseparable from the history of all the great public transactions of a very important period, and enveloped in the mysteries of faction, it presents a theme not less for argument and disquisition than for extended and exact narration. A treatise embracing both would be a great historical acquisition, but he who is bound to confine such a subject to the limits of a brief memoir must be content to restrict himself to a dry detail of facts, or to an imperfect series of conjectures and presumptions.

The Protector was the eldest of the six sons of Sir John Seymour, of Wolf Hall, in Wiltshire, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested, in Suffolk. His father, who, though the heir of a long line of wealthy and powerful ancestors, had passed his life in the courts and armies of Henry the Seventh and Eighth, placed him, while yet a youth, in the view of the latter of those princes, recommended as well by the best education of the time, for he had studied profitably in both Universities, as by a turn for military gallantry, and an eminent sweetness of temper. The King received him favourably, and permitted him to accompany the Duke of Suffolk in his expedition to the coast of France in August 1533, where his bravery in several actions was rewarded by that nobleman with the honour of knighthood,



conferred in the field. He returned to distinguish himself in the warlike sports of the court in which Henry so much delighted; was one of the chosen party which graced Wolsey's splendid embassy to Paris in 1527; and attended the King at his celebrated interview with Francis the First in 1532, holding at that time the honourable, but now obsolete, office of Esquire of the royal body.

Having thus slowly attained to that station, and perhaps indulging little hope of farther preferment, an event occurred which ranked him suddenly among the highest in the realm. Henry became enamoured of his sister Jane, and, even before his passion for her was publicly known, raised her to the throne. On the fifth of June, 1536, a few days after the marriage, Seymour was raised to the dignity of Viscount Beauchamp, and on the eighteenth of October, in the ensuing year, created Earl of Somerset. The untimely death of the Queen, which occurred just at that period, caused no diminution of the royal favour towards him, but Henry, unwilling to expose her family to the envy of the court, prudently delayed to advance him to high offices; nor was he placed in any but the comparatively insignificant posts of Chancellor and Chamberlain of North Wales, and Governor of Jersey, till 1540, when he was sent Ambassador to Paris, to settle some disputes as to the boundaries of the English territory in France. On his return, in the beginning of the following year, he received the Order of the Garter, and in 1542 was appointed Lord Great Chamberlain for life. In the mean time the King had sought to gratify his passion for military fame by giving him a command in the forces not long before sent into Scotland, under the Duke of Norfolk, in which he acquitted himself so well that on the declaration of war against the Scots in 1544 the first of the three divisions of the powerful army then despatched into that country was wholly to his charge, together with the important office of Lieutenant General of the North. At home new offices of favour and confidence awaited him: Henry, who

this year crossed the channel to the siege of Boulogne, named him one of the four counsellors by whose advice the Queen was to be directed, and commander-in-chief on any occasions of military service which might occur during his absence. Amidst these ample engagements he pined for warlike enterprise; obtained the King's permission to join him before Boulogne; and distinguished himself there by the most signal skill and bravery in several actions after the reduction of the town, as well as by the sagacity which he displayed in the treaty of peace with Francis which presently followed. On his return from France he was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and Henry, who died soon after, increased him in the number of his executors, to whom, in the nature of a Council of Regency, he intrusted the guardianship of his son.

One of the first acts of that Council was to invest him with the supreme government, and the title of Protector of the realm, and Governor of the King's person; and one of the first purposes to which he applied his authority was to use the King's name in advancing himself to the dignity of Duke of Somerset. To remove the imputation of vanity so likely to attend such a step, a curious expedient was devised. Four other eminent persons were at the same time raised to the Peerage, each promoted in it, each individually testified for all the rest that it was the declared intention of the late King to have bestowed on them the titles now conferred, which was done therefore but in obedience to his pleasure. The Protector assumed also, about the same time, the great office of Earl Marshal, for life.

Edward's reign commenced with a war against the Scots. A treaty for his marriage to their infant Queen had been earnestly agitated by Henry, who on his death-bed commanded that it should be carried on with all assiduity, and the Protector zealously resumed it, but was baffled by delays and evasions. Any pretext for an invasion of that country was in those days welcome. Twenty thousand men, ad-

mirably equipped, were marched into [REDACTED] by Somerset in person, and gained a complete victory in the sanguinary [REDACTED] of Musselborough, [REDACTED] loss. His return was hailed with marks of respect and love, amounting almost to adoration. Charmed by the sycophantic voice of the multitude, it [REDACTED] perhaps now that he conceived an [REDACTED] reasonable affection to popularity, and fondly sought to strengthen his authority by resting it on the ever-doubtful basis of public [REDACTED].

His vain endeavours to this end produced universal disgust. To ingratiate himself with the nobility, who as yet held the spoils of the ancient church but by precarious tenure, he applied himself with vigour to destroy every vestige of its practice. Shortly after his arrival from Scotland he issued injunctions for the removal from churches of all images, and other visible objects of worship, and despatched commissioners into every part of the kingdom to enforce the execution. The commonalty, with whom the march of the reformation had been more tardy, perhaps because [REDACTED] administered nothing to their temporal interests, highly resented this harsh and sudden [REDACTED] of their inveterate habits, [REDACTED] Henry for the time had left undisturbed. On the other hand, [REDACTED] attempted to win the mass of the people by an ordinance as summary and unexpected, not only prohibiting the enclosure of commons and waste lands, but charging those [REDACTED] had already made enclosures to lay them again open. It [REDACTED] needless to say that such persons were almost wholly of the higher order, and it will readily be conceived that they considered this regulation as a heinous injury. A fever of discontent presently raged throughout the realm. Insurrections burst forth in several counties on the score of religion. In others the people, impatient of the delay and unwillingness with which the enclosures restored to them a property their right to which had now acquired a new guarantee, rose in thousands, and having broken down the fences which had debarred them, proceeded, according to the invariable practice

of mobs, to spoil the mansions and the goods of the offenders. In the mean time a powerful party was secretly formed against him in the court.

At the head of this faction was his brother, Thomas Lord Seymour, of Sudeley, whom he had advanced at the commencement of Edward's reign to that dignity, and to the office of Lord Admiral of England. The conduct of that nobleman towards the Protector, and its motives, and the lenity, and even tenderness, which he experienced to the last at the hands of his injured brother, may be found treated of at large in this work, in a memoir appropriated to himself. The Admiral, after long delays, was put to death for repeated treasons; but a more formidable adversary presently appeared. ■■■■ Dudley, Earl of Warwick, a man of considerable talents, and equally ambitious and intrepid, was ■■■■ Protector's secret enemy, and, from motives as well of anger as of envy, had determined to accomplish his ruin. Somerset, to gratify his brother, had deprived Warwick of the great office of Lord Admiral, which he had filled with ■■■■ credit during the five concluding years of the late reign, and the offence was never forgiven. Warwick, however, dissembled till after the fall of Lord Seymour. ■■■■ had privately encouraged that nobleman in his practices against the Protector, whom, on the other hand, he urged to resent them to the utmost. A majority of the Privy Council was now united against Somerset, and Warwick eagerly undertook to be their leader; they seceded suddenly from the main body, assuming the authority of the whole, and indeed the government of the realm; and this step was concerted with such secrecy that the Protector seems to have been wholly unapprised of its approach. They humbly averred to the King, and indeed not untruly, that his uncle had on most occasions contemned their advice, and issued a proclamation to the same effect. Somerset abandoned his authority ■■■■ pusillanimous precipitation. Articles of accusation were drawn ■■■■ and he acknowledged the justice of them on his knees at

the Council table. He then signed a confession to the same purpose, which was presented to the Parliament, and that assembly, having first examined him by a committee, stripped him of all his offices, and, by way of fine, of estates to the annual value of two thousand pounds. Here his prosecution ceased for the time; he was released from the Tower, where he had suffered a very short imprisonment; and was soon after discharged of his fine. These matters occurred in the winter of 1554.

The plenitude of power of which he had been deprived now passed into the hands of Warwick, who seemed to be fully appeased by the sacrifice. A personal reconciliation between them, apparently sincere, was wrought through the mediation of the amiable Edward, who even prevailed on Warwick to give his eldest son in marriage to one of Somerset's daughters. The Duke, who possessed most of the qualities which bestow comfort and ornament on private life, laid down, perhaps with little regret, a burthen which neither his talents nor his temper had well fitted him to support; but Warwick, by whose ambitious and ardent spirit such moderation was utterly inconceivable, and who had injured Somerset too deeply ever to forgive him, still suspected and hated him. Popular affection had in some degree [redacted] the Duke in his retirement, and, though wholly forsaken by the powerful, and possessing none of the qualities of a demagogue, his influence was yet dreaded. Warwick, [redacted] Duke of Northumberland, at length determined to deprive him of life, and he was arrested on the sixteenth of October, 1551, together with several of his intimates and retainers, among whom some through purchased treachery, and others from careless imprudence, had divulged to the spies [redacted] Northumberland the facts on which his accusation was to be formed, and which were to be proved by no other than [redacted] own evidence.

Northumberland's utmost influence seems to have been exerted to induce the Privy Council, servile as [redacted] was, to con-

sent that he should be brought to a trial on charges which any grand jury of later days would have rejected with horror. After repeated examinations, however, took place on the first of the succeeding December, twenty-seven peers forming the court. It was alleged against him that he had meditated insurrections to subvert the government, and had conspired to assassinate certain noblemen at a banquet in the house of the Lord Paget, and, in- as it three of these, Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke, had the effrontery to sit that day among his judges. On the first of charges he was indicted of high treason; on the second of felony; but no overt act tending to either was adduced, nor was any proof made but of some vague and uncertain speeches, uttered in the freedom of familiar conversation; neither was he allowed to confront the witnesses, for this wretched evidence was delivered in form of written depositions. Spite of vengeance the prosecutor, and the gross partiality of the court, it should seem that he might have been saved by slight exertions on his own part of common prudence; but he made no defence; uttered no clear denial of the charges; nor did he except with firmness against the palpable irregularities of the process; wasted his time in unmeaning apologies, and sought to move the compassion of his judges by such complaints as usually result from the depression produced by conscious demerit. In the end, he was acquitted of treason, but convicted of the felony, and condemned to die. He suffered on Tower Hill, on the twenty-second of January, N.S. with a deportment and a speech which had little in them to denote the man who had ruled kingdoms, and commanded armies, or to afford any clear inference either of his innocence or guilt.

The Protector was twice married. his first lady, Catharine, daughter and coheir of Sir William Fillol, Woodlands, in Dorsetshire, whom he repudiated, he had an only son, Edward. He married, secondly, Anne, daughter of

Sir Edward Stanhope, of Hampton, in the county of Nottingham, to whose pride, insolence, intriguing spirit, and control over his conduct, some writers have ascribed most of his misfortunes and errors. She brought him a numerous issue, of which Edward, the eldest son, was appointed his heir, under a special entail, created by act of Parliament (the only son by the first marriage being about the same time disinherited, as well of the titles as of the estates), and from this second son descended that line of Dukes of Somerset which failed in

He had also by his Duchess, Anne Stanhope, two younger sons; Henry, and another Edward; and six daughters; Anne, first married, as has been already stated, to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, eldest son to John, Duke of Northumberland; secondly, to Sir Edward Unton, of Wadley, in Oxfordshire, Knight of the Bath; Margaret, and Jane, who died unmarried, as did the fifth daughter, Catherine; Mary, married, first, Andrew, eldest son to Sir Richard Rogers, of Bryanstone, in the county of Dorset; secondly, to Sir Henry Peyton; and Elizabeth, wife to Sir Richard Knightley, of Fawsley, in Northamptonshire. On the extinction, alluded to above, of the male line from the eldest son of this second marriage, the Dukedom reverted at length to the heir male of Edward, the disinherited son of the first, from whom the present Duke of Somerset is lineally descended. The public and private history of these family affairs, of which as much has been here stated as is consistent with the views of this work, is little known, and of great curiosity.











## EDWARD THE SIXTH

THE son of Henry the Eighth by Jane Seymour, was born at Hampton Court on the 12th of October, 1537, and died at Greenwich on the 6th of July, 1553.

The annals of this Prince present little more to our view than the strange events which attended the struggle between Seymour and Dudley for the possession of his person and authority. The bloody war with Scotland, and the dangerous insurrections which succeeded at home, occupied the ardent minds and employed the talents of those chiefs during the first two years of his reign; but the return of national peace gave birth to the bitterest discord between them; and their wisdom and bravery, which in the late public exigencies had shone resplendently in the council and the field, presently sank into the contracted cunning and petty malice of factional politicians. The Protector sought to intrrench himself in the stronghold of popular favour, and was perhaps the first English nobleman who endeavoured to derive power or security from that source: his antagonist, too proud and too artful to engage in an untried scheme, humilistating in its progress and uncertain in its event, threw himself into the arms of a body of discontented Nobles, lamenting the fallen dignity of the Crown, and the tarnished honour of their order. He proved successful: the Protector was accused of high treason, and suffered on the scaffold, and the young king was transferred to Dudley, together with the regal power.

These circumstances, well known as they are, will be found to throw a new lustre on Edward's character. In the

convenient time, so adverse to every sort of improvement either in the morals, or less important accomplishments of the youthful Prince; under many disadvantages of an irregular education, a slighted authority, and a sickly constitution; he made himself master of the most eminent qualifications. He had an accurate critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, he understood and conversed in French, Spanish, and Italian. He was well read in natural philosophy, astronomy, and logic. He imitated his father in searching into the conduct of public men in every part of his dominions, and kept a register in which he wrote the characters of such persons, even to the rank of Justices of the Peace. He was conversant of the value and exchange of money. He is said to have been master of the theory of military arts, especially fortification; and was acquainted with all the ports in England, France, and Scotland, their depth of water, and their channels. His journal, recording the most material events of his reign from its very commencement, the original of which, written by his own hand, remains in the Cotton Library, proves a thirst for the knowledge not only of political affairs at home and of foreign relations, but of the laws of his realm, even to municipal and domestic regulations comparatively insignificant, which, at his age, was truly surprising. "This child," says the famous Cardan, who frequently conversed with him, "was so bred, had such parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man; and in him was such an attempt of Nature, that not only England but the world had reason to lament his being so early snatched away."

With these great endowments, which too frequently produce haughty and ungracious manners, we find Edward mild, patient, beneficent, sincere, and affable; free from all the faults, and uniting all the perfections, of the sovereigns of his family who preceded or followed him: courageous and steady, humane and just; beautiful, without profusion; pious, without bigotry; graced with a dignified simplicity of

conduct in common affairs, which suited his rank as well as his years; and artlessly obeying the impulses of his perfect mind, in assuming, as occasions required, the majesty of the monarch, the gravity of the statesman, and the familiarity of the gentleman.

Such is the account invariably given of Edward the Sixth; derived from no blind respect for the memory of his father, whose death relieved his people from the scourge of tyranny; without hope of reward from himself, whose person never promised manhood; with no view of paying court to his successor, who abhorred a heretic, or Elizabeth, whose title to the throne he had been in his dying moments persuaded to deny; but dictated solely by a just admiration of the charming qualities which so wonderfully distinguished him, and perfectly free from those motives to a base partiality, which too often guide the biographer's pen when he treats of the characters of Princes. Concerning his person, Sir John Hayward informs us that "he was in body beautiful; of a sweet aspect, and especially in his eyes, which seemed to have a starry liveliness and lustre in them."—This description is fully justified by the present copy of his portrait.

The Journal however kept by this regal child, which has been already slightly mentioned, is a highly illustrative important part of his character, and corroborates in so many instances the reports which we have derived from his eulogists, that he would be blameable to suffer these notices of him to go forth unaccompanied by a specimen at least of a document so extraordinary. We will take for this purpose, without any care of selection, his entries for the months of July and August, 1551, made when he was in his fourteenth year.

#### JULY.

"1. Whereas certain Flemish ships, twelve sail in all, six tall men-of-war, looking for eighteen more men-of-war, were to Diep, as it was thought, to take Monsieur Mareschal by

the way, order was given that six ships being before prepared, with four pinnaces and a brigandine, should go, both to conduct him, and also to defend if anything should be attempted against England by carrying over the *Lady Mary*.—2. A brigandine sent to Diep, to give knowledge to Monsieur le Mareschal of the Flemings coming, to whom all the Flemings vailed their bonnet. Also the French Ambassador was advertised, who answered that he thought him sure enough when he came into our streams, terming it so.—3. There was a proclamation signed for shortening the fall of the money to that day, in which it should be proclaimed and devised that it should be in all places of the realm within one day proclaimed.—4. The Lord Clinton and Cobham was appointed to meet the French at Gravesend, and so to convey him to Duresme Place, where he should lie.—5. I was banqueted by the Lord Clinton at Deptford, where I saw the *Primrose* and the *Mary Willoughby* launched. The Frenchmen landed at Rye, as some thought for fear of the Flemings, lying at the Land's End, chiefly because they saw our ships were let by the wind that they could not come out.—6. Sir Peter Meutas, of Dover, commanded to come to Rye, to meet Monsieur le Mareschal, who so; and after he had delivered my letters, written with mine own hand, and made my recommendations, he took order for horses and carts for Monsieur le Mareschal, in which he made such provision as was possible to be at the sudden.—7. Monsieur le Mareschal set forth from Rye, and in his journey Mr. Culpepper, and divers other gentlemen, and their men, to the number of 1000 Horse, well furnished, met him, and so brought him to that night.—8. Removing to Westminster.—9. Monsieur le Mareschal at Mr. Baker's, where he was well feasted and banqueted.—10. The same came to my Lord Cobham's to dinner, and at night to Gravesend. Proclamation was made that a testourn should go at 2<sup>d</sup>, and a groat at 3<sup>d</sup>, in all places of the realm at once. At this time came the sweet London, which was more vehement

than the old sweat; for if one took cold he died within three hours; and if he escaped it held him but nine hours, or ten the most: also if he slept the first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he roved, and should die roving.—11. It grew so much; for in London the 10<sup>th</sup> day there died 100 in the liberties, and this day 120; and also one of my gentlemen, another of my grooms, fell sick and died; that I removed to Hampton Court, with very few the same night Mareschal, who was saluted with all my ships being in the Thames, fifty and odd, all with shot well furnished, and so with the ordnance of the Tower. was met by the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, with forty gentlemen, at Gravesend, and so brought to Duresme Place.—13. Because of the infection at London he came this day to Richmond, where he lay, with a great band of gentlemen, at least 400, as it was by divers esteemed, the same night he hunted.”

“July 14. He came to me at Hampton Court at nine of the clock, being met by the Duke of Somerset the wall-end, and so conveyed first to me; where, after his Master's recommendations and letters, he went to his chamber on the Queen's side, all hanged with cloth of Arras, and so was the hall, and all my lodging. He dined with me also. dinner, being brought into an inner chamber, he told me he was come, not only for delivery of the Order, but also for to declare the great friendship the King his master bore me, which he desired I would think to be such to me as a father beareth to a son, or brother to brother; and although there were divers persuasions, as he thought, to dissuade me from the King's master's friendship, and witless made divers rumours, yet he trusted I would not believe them: furthermore, that as good ministers on the frontiers do great good, so ill much harm; for which cause he desired no innovation should be made on things had been so long in controversy by hand-strokes, but rather by commissioners' talk. I answered him that I thanked him for his order, and also



his love, and I would show love in all points. Rumours, they were not always to be believed; and that I did sometime provide for the worst, but never did any harm upon their hearing. For Ministers, I said, I would rather appease these controversies with words than do anything by force. So after, he was conveyed to Richmond again.—17. came to present the Order of Monsieur Michael, where, after with ceremonies accustomed he had put on the garments, he and Monsieur Gye, likewise of the Order, came, one at my right hand, the other at my left, to the Chapel; where, after the Communion celebrated, each of them kissed my cheek. After that they dined with me, and talked after dinner, and saw some pastime, and so went home again.”

“18. A proclamation made against regraters and fore-stallers, and the words of the statute recited, with the punishment of the offenders. Also letters were sent to all and for the executing thereof.—19. Another proclamation made for punishment of that would blow rumours of abasing and enhancing of the coin, to make things dear withal. The same night Monsieur le Marechal St. André supped with me: after supper saw a dozen courses; and, after, I came, and made me ready.—20. The next morning, he came to me in mine arraying, and saw my bedchamber, and went a hunting with hounds, and saw me shoot, and saw all my guards shoot together. He dined with me; heard me play on the lute; ride; came to me to my study; supped with me; and so departed to Richmond.—19. The ambassador hither for receiving treaty, sealed with the Great Seal of England, which was delivered. Also I sent Sir Thomas Chaloner, clerk of my council, to have the seal of them, for confirmation of the last treaty, at Northampton.—17. This day my Lord Marquess and the commissioners coming to treat of the marriage, offered, by later instructions, 600'000 crowns; after, 400'000; and so departed for an hour. Then, seeing they could get no better, came to the French offer of 200'000 crowns, half to be paid

the marriage, half six months after that. Then the French agreed that her dote should be but 10'000 marks of lawful money ■ England. Thirdly, it was agreed that if I died she should not have the dote, saying they did that for friendship's sake, without precedent.—19. ■ Lord Mar- ■ having received and ■ again ■ treaty, sealed, took his leave, and so did all the rest. At this time there was a bickering ■ Parma between the French and the Papists: for Monsieur de Thermes, Petro Stromi, and Fontivello, ■ divers ■ gentlemen, ■ the number of thirty, with fifteen hundred soldiers, entered Parma. Gonzaga, with ■ Emperor's ■ Pope's band, lay near the town. The French made sallies, and overcame, slaying the Prince of Macedonia, and the Signor Baptista, the Pope's nephew.—22. Mr. Sidney made one of ■ four chief gentlemen.—23. Monsieur le Mareschal came to me, declaring the King his master's well-taking my readiness to this treaty, and also how much his master was bent that way. He presented Monsieur Bois Dolphine to be Ambassador here, as my Lord Marquess the 19<sup>th</sup> day did present Mr. Pickering.—26. Monsieur le Mareschal dined with me; after dinner saw the strength of the English archers. After he had so done, ■ his departure I gave him a diamond from my finger, worth by estimation 160<sup>l</sup>, both for pains, and also for my memory. Then he took his leave.—27. He came to ■ hunting to tell me the news, and show me the letter his master had sent him; and doubt- ■ of Monsieur Termes' ■ Marignan's letters, being Ambassador with ■ Emperor.—28. ■ le ■ came to dinner in Hyde Park, where there was a fair house made for him, and he saw the courting there.—30. He came ■ the Earl of Warwick's; lay there ■ night; ■ was ■ received.—29. ■ had his reward, being worth ■ in gold, of current money; Monsieur de Gye, 1000<sup>l</sup>; Monsieur Chensault, 1000<sup>l</sup>; Monsieur Movillier, 500<sup>l</sup>; the Secretary, 500<sup>l</sup>; and the Bishop of Peregraux, 500<sup>l</sup>."

## AUGUST.

"3. Monsieur le Maréchal departed to Bologna, and had certain of my ships to conduct him thither.—9. Four and twenty Lords of the Council met at Richmond, to commune of my sister Mary's matter: who at length agreed that it was not meet to be suffered any longer; making thereof an instrument, signed with their hands, and sealed, to be on record.—11. The Lord Marquess, with the most of his band, came home, and delivered the treaty sealed.—12. Letters sent for Rochester, Inglesfield, and Walgrave, to come the 13<sup>th</sup> day, but they came [redacted] another letter [redacted] 13<sup>th</sup> day.—14. My Lord Marquess's reward was delivered at Paris, worth 800<sup>l</sup>; my Lord of Ely's, 200<sup>l</sup>; and Mr. Hobbey's, 150<sup>l</sup>; the rest, all about one scantling. Rochester, &c. had commandment neither to hear, nor to suffer, any kind of service but the common and orders set forth at large by Parliament; and had a letter to my lady's house from [redacted] Council for their credit; another to herself from me. Also appointed that I should come and sit at Council when great matters were debating, or when I would. This last month [redacted] de Termes, with 500 Frenchmen, came to Parma, and entered safely; afterwards, certain issued out of the town, and were overthrown; as Scipiaro, Dandelot, Petro, and others were taken, and some slain: after, they gave a skirmish; entered the camp of Gonzaga, and spoiled a few tents, and returned.—15. Sir Robert Dudley and Barnabé sworn two of the six ordinary gentlemen. The last month the Turk's navy won a little castle in Sicily.—17. Instructions [redacted] to Sir [redacted] Croftes for divers purposes, whose copy is in the Secretary's hands. The Testoun cried down from 8<sup>d</sup> to 6<sup>d</sup>; the great from 3<sup>d</sup> to 2<sup>d</sup>; the 2<sup>d</sup> to 1<sup>d</sup>; the penny to a half-penny; [redacted] halfpenny to a farthing, &c.—1. [redacted] Termes and Scipiaro overthrew three ensigns of horsemen [redacted] three times; took one dispatch sent from Don Fernando to the Pope concerning this war, and another from the Pope to

Don Fernando; discomfited four ensigns of footmen; took the Count Camillo of Castilion; and slew a captain of the Spaniards.—22. Removing to Windsor.—23. Rochester, &c. returned, denying to [REDACTED] openly the charge of the Lady Mary's house, for displeasing her.—26. The Lord Chancellor, Mr. Comptroller, the Secretary Petre, [REDACTED] to do the [REDACTED] commission.—27. Mr. Coverdale made Bishop of Exeter.—28. Rochester, &c. sent to the Fleet. The Lord Chancellor, &c. did that they were commanded to do to my sister, and her house.—31. Rochester, &c. committed to the Tower. [REDACTED] Duke of Somerset, taking certain that began a [REDACTED] conspiracy for [REDACTED] destruction of the gentlemen at Okingham, two days past executed them with death for their offence.—29. Certain pinnaces were prepared to see that there should be [REDACTED] conveyance over-sea of the Lady Mary secretly done. [REDACTED] appointed [REDACTED] Lord Chancellor, Lord Chamberlain, the Vice-chamberlain, and the Secretary Petre, should see by all means they could whether she used the Mass; and if she did, that the laws should be executed on her chaplains. Also that when [REDACTED] came from this progress to Hampton Court or Westminster, both [REDACTED] sisters should be with me till further order were taken for this purpose."

As no apology [REDACTED] perhaps be necessary [REDACTED] for [REDACTED] [REDACTED] or the extent of these extracts, I will venture to [REDACTED] the tribute thus irregularly collected and devoted to the memory of this Prince with two additional documents of some curiosity; the first, a paper addressed to some unknown person, all written with his own hand, with which I have been just now favoured by an ingenious friend, who transcribed it [REDACTED] the original in the Ashmolean collection at Oxford. It is clear that it may be referred to the great and tragical discord between the Protector and his brother; and that the innocent Edward, then but at the age of ten years, had been called on to disclose the matters adverse to the Protector which had passed in his conversations with the

Admiral, in order that they might be used as evidence against that nobleman. The connection of [redacted] with the history of Edward seems to confer some value on it, nor is it without [redacted] of the premature sagacity which distinguished him.

Æ

The Lord Admirall cam to me [redacted] the last p<sup>li</sup>ament, and desired me to wryght a thyng for him. I asked him what? He sayd it was non ille; 'it is for the Quene's maters.' I sayd if it were good the Lordes wold allow it: [redacted] were ill, I wol not wright in it. Then he sayd [redacted] wold take in better part if i wrought. I desired him to let me alon. I [redacted] Chek whether [redacted] wer good to wright, and [redacted] sayd no. He sayd 'w<sup>i</sup>n this tow yere [redacted] lest ye must take upon yow to be as ye are, or ought to be, for ye shall be able, and then yow may give your men somewhat; for your unkle is old, and I trust wil not live long.' I sayd [redacted] wer better for him to die befor. [redacted] sayd 'ye ar a beggarly King. Ye [redacted] monie [redacted] or [redacted] geve.' I sayd that M<sup>r</sup> Stanhop had for [redacted] Then he sayd that he wold geve Fouler; [redacted] Fouler did geve the monie to divers men as I bad him; as to [redacted] Chek, and the bokbinder, and other. [redacted] told me thes thinges oftentimes. Fouler desired me to geve thanks to [redacted] Lord Admirall for his gentilnes to me, and praised him to me varie much.

E. R.

"In the moneth of September, An.D. 1547, [redacted] Admirall told [redacted] that min unkle, beeing gon into Scotland, shuld not passe the peesce w<sup>o</sup>ut losse of men, a great number of men, or of himself, and that he did spend much monie in vain. After the returne of min unkle he sayd that I was too bashful in mi maters, and that I wold not speake for mi right. I sayd I was wel enough. When [redacted] went to his contré he desired me not to beleve men that wold sclauder him till he cam himself.

E. R."

second is an extract from the original draft of a letter from the Lords of the Council to the English Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor, which may be found in the Cecil Papers in the Illustrations of English History, &c., disclosing some slight particulars of Edward's disease, which seems to have not been elsewhere described otherwise than generally.

"After o' hris comendations. We must needs be sorry we write that which cometh both sorrowfully from us, shall, as we well knowe, w<sup>th</sup> the like sorrow be taken yow; but, such is the almighty will of God in all his creations, that his ord<sup>r</sup> in them may not be by us resisted. In these worde we must yow a greate heap of infelicité. God hathe ordeyned owte of this world of soveraigne Lord sixty moneth; whose death was such toward God as assureth us his soule is in the place of eternall joye, as, for yow satisfaction p<sup>r</sup>tly ye may p<sup>r</sup>ceive by the cople of these words which he spake secretly to hym in the mom<sup>e</sup>nt of his death. The disease wh<sup>ch</sup> he was afflicted of long, which had them 11 grete ulcers, and were putrefied, by meanes wh<sup>ch</sup> he fell into a consumption, and so hath he wasted, being utterly incurable. Of this evill, for the importance, we adv<sup>ise</sup> you, knowing it comfortable to have bene ignorant of it; and the more ye take tyme to declare unto the Emper<sup>or</sup> as from us," &c.













## JOHN DUDLEY.

DUKE OF NORTHAMPTON.

TYRANNY and faction are the necessary consequences, of each other. The furious and spirit of Henry the Eighth had awed inactivity contending passions under inexperienced successor burst forth therefore with increased violence. six years of the amiable and beneficent Edward were stained even perhaps by more enormities than had disgraced the long reign of his barbarous father; for that philosophy of faction, if the expression may be allowed, which in our days bestows impunity on the leaders, and transfers the penalties to the innocent community, was then unknown, and every political contest ended in the bloodshed of some of its authors. The minority of the Monarch, the rich spoils of the reformation, and the confusion in which Henry had left the succession to the throne, presented to the minds of the ambitious the extravagant visions of power. The subject of present memoir chose the last as the of increasing a grandeur already too lofty; and by failing in the attempt forfeited his life, and acquired an eminent station in history, without exciting either pity or respect.

was born in the year 1502, and his infancy was marked by the most unfavourable circumstances. His father, Edmund Dudley, a descendant from the ancient Barons Dudley, was one of the two chief ministers to the avarice of Henry the Seventh, and was put to death, together with his colleague,

Empson, in the first year of the succeeding reign. It has been said that there was more of policy than justice in this act of severity, and the restoration in blood of the man a very few years after favours that opinion. The influence however of his mother, Elizabeth, who was a coheir of the Greys, Viscounts Lisle, a title which she afterwards revived in her second husband, Arthur Plantagenet, perhaps did much towards procuring that grace. By her, who was equally illustrious for her high birth and eminent virtues, he was brought to the court about the year 1523, in the autumn of which he attended Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France, and was knighted for his gallant conduct there. On his return he attracted the notice of Wolsey, whom he accompanied on his embassy to Paris in 1528, through whose favour he obtained the command of the Armoury in the Tower, and on the fall of Cromwell attached himself to Cromwell, who, in his marriage, so near to himself, of Henry the Eighth to Anne of Cleves, procured for him the appointment of Master of the Horse to that Princess. Such were the insignificant steps which this extraordinary person mounted on his progress towards almost unlimited power.

He was one of the handsomest men of his time; his military exercises; and he was peculiarly distinguished by his adroitness and rich equipment in arms. Henry, when he arrived at middle age, generally selected his favourites from such persons, and those qualifications, perhaps, first recommended Dudley to the good graces. Hitherto undistinguished, but in the inauspicious stations of a retainer to two disgraced ministers, and a servant in the household of a detested Queen, the King suddenly took him into the highest favour; bestowed on him in 1542, on the death of his father-in-law, the dignity of Viscount Lisle, and, immediately after, the Order of the Garter, and the office of High Admiral of England for life. He commanded, in this capacity, in the succeeding year, a formidable expedition to the coasts of

Scotland, in which ■ seems, Lord Herbert only having left a hint ■ ■■ contrary, to have been completely successful, as well in the military as in the naval part of his commission, for ■ commanded the vanguard of the army which had sailed in his fleet. This service performed, he instantly ■■ for Boulogne, then besieged by the King in person; assisted considerably in the reduction of the place, and was appointed governor of it. Henry, however, had farther views in selecting him for that office. He had discovered in Dudley's mind a quick and penetrating judgment, united to that gallant courage which he so much admired. ■ knew that France was then secretly straining every nerve to equip a fleet for the invasion of England, and ■ was of the utmost importance ■ him to place such a man at a point equally apt for observation, and for active service. The consequence fully proved ■ sagacity of his arrangement. The French force suddenly put to sea, and Dudley, with a fleet ■■ inferior, ■■ only effectually repulsed it, but attacked, in his turn, the enemy's coast, and destroyed the town of Treport, ■■ several adjacent villages in Normandy. These circumstances led to the treaty of peace with Francis the First of the seventh ■ June 1545, for the ratification of which he was appointed a commissioner.

Henry, who survived that event not many months, constituted him one of the sixteen executors to his will, and those eminent persons were invested by him also with the guardianship of the young Edward. The Earl of Hertford, soon after Duke of Somerset, who was the King's maternal uncle, prevailed however on the majority of them to declare him Protector, and here, though Dudley made no open opposition to the appointment, originated ■■ enmity between those two great men. One of the Protector's first acts was to bestow on his brother Thomas, Lord Seymour, the post of High Admiral, which had been held with so much credit by Dudley, and which he was ■■ compelled ■■ relinquish, under the show of a voluntary resignation. ■ is true that he

received magnificent compensations, for on the very day that the patent was passed to his successor, the seventeenth of February, 1547, ■ was appointed Great ■ England, and created Earl of Warwick, a title the dignity of ■ presently after highly enhanced by a gift ■ Crown of the castle and manor of that town, to which were ■ grants of many other ■ great value, ■ revocation of his commission of Admiral still rankled in his bosom. He endeavoured to conceal his disgust from Somerset, and the Protector, on his part, affected not to perceive it. Their characters ■ dissimilar, ■ positive opposition, but they were necessary to each other. The Protector, with many admirable talents for a statesman in more composed times, ■ mild, timid, and irresolute ; Warwick ■ active and courageous ; sudden, and seldom erroneous in judgment, and always prompt in execution. Somerset had already risen to the highest exaltation, but ■ his inability to ■ himself there by his own resources ; while Warwick, on whom ■ prospect of his own future deceitful glory had not yet opened, sullenly determined to place himself for ■ time on that heavy but powerful wing which he ■ not at present ■ to clip. While he acted however with the Protector, ■ served him with zeal and fidelity. He commanded the English ■ in Scotland under Somerset, ■ the quality ■ Lieutenant-General, and ■ signal victory ■ Musselborough has been ascribed by those of our historians who wrote nearest to his time, to his conduct and courage ; and signalised himself immediately after as a statesman in a negotiation ■ Paris, where he dexterously contrived ■ to reject steadily ■ demand by the French King, of Boulogne, and ■ avert the conflict which was expected to follow that refusal. In ■ time ■ Protector's government assumed ■ more despotic form, and many of his measures were unfortunate. The ■ Scotland, which ■ would have occupied only the campaign of 1547, had the vigorous plan suggested by Warwick been adopted, was feebly and expensively

managed ; strange feuds occurred between Somerset and his brother, which ended in the Admiral's attainder and execution ; the people became discontented, and at length broke into a formidable insurrection, in many parts of the kingdom. Warwick was sent against them in Norfolk, at the head of an army which had been raised to serve in Scotland ; defeated them in a general action ; prevailed on them to give up their leaders ; and treated the rest with a mildness which would have done honour to a more civilised age.

Hitherto this great man preserved a noble character, but irresistible temptations were at hand. The Lords of the King's guardian council, to whom the Protector had late allowed little share in the government of the State, became indignant, and conspired to divest him of his authority. Warwick possessed all the talents, as well as the temper, for the leader of such a band, and fell, as it were naturally, into that station. The Protector was imprisoned, and the Earl took his place in the favour and confidence of the King, which he afterwards effectually fixed by releasing Somerset, whom Edward sincerely loved, from the Tower, and consenting, at the request of that Prince, to the marriage of his heir to the daughter of his fallen adversary, which was solemnized in the King's presence on the third of June, 1550. About the same time his office of High Admiral was restored to him ; he resigned the place of Lord Great Chamberlain, and accepted that of Steward of the Royal Household ; was soon after appointed Earl Marshal ; and on the eleventh of October, 1551, raised to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland. Within very few days after, Somerset was suddenly seized of an intention to murder him, and on the first of December following was brought to a trial by his Peers. The mysterious circumstances of his case, on which our historians are much disagreed, will be mentioned somewhat largely in their proper place in this work. Suffice it therefore to say here that he was convicted of felony, and on the twenty-second of the succeeding month was beheaded. Considering of this



sanguinary catastrophe, and of the steps which led to it, is difficult to believe Northumberland wholly innocent, but impossible either to say he was guilty, or to guess the probable of his guilt. Perhaps the strongest presumption to be urged in his favour, inasmuch as it tends to strengthen the opinion Somerset fairly charged with the crime for which he suffered, may be founded on the fact that the just, acute, and affectionate Edward made no mention of his uncle's life, nor does he, in his Journal, most curious historical collection, express any regret at Protector's awful fate.

Northumberland now rose to the possession of absolute dominion. The King submitted himself wholly to his direction; and the nobility, variously swayed, by affection, interest, or fear, were divided into humble agents of his government, or spectators of his grandeur. At this juncture Edward's health suddenly declined, and his recovery presently became hopeless. Northumberland, who could scarcely indulge the reasonable hope of an obscure impunity under a legitimate throne, conceived, with boldness and impetuosity, the extravagant project of placing on the grand-daughter of a sister of Henry the Eighth, having first made her the wife of the late Duke of Suffolk. This was the admirable Jane Grey, who was married to the Lord Dudley, in May, 1553. Edward, always too compliant, and now worn out by sickness, easily prevailed on to acknowledge her visionary right, and the Judges bribed, cajoled, or threatened, till they submitted to draw letters patent for the disposal of the Crown to her, which the King signed on the twenty-first of June, fourteen days before his death. It would be impertinent and useless to enlarge here on great points of English history already so frequently and minutely detailed. From the hour of the King's departure Northumberland's high spirit and vigour of mind seem to have forsaken him. On the tenth of July, he caused Jane to be proclaimed Queen;

placed her for security in the Tower. On the fourteenth, he left London, to try the temper of the country, and reached, at the head of a feeble force, the town of Bury Edmunds. Discouraged by the indifference of the people he returned to Cambridge, where, on the twentieth of the same month, having heard of the defection of his pretended friends in London, he pusillanimously proclaimed Queen Mary, throwing his cap into the air in token of his joy and loyalty. Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, arrived the next day with an order to arrest him, which he received with childish expressions of grief and contrition. He was conveyed to London, and, on the eighteenth of August, arraigned before his Peers, and condemned to die. Two days after, he wrote to the Earl of Arundel the following letter, which remains in the Harleian collection, a melancholy testimony of the truth of those historical relations which have been hitherto nearly incredible, of the abasement of spirit into which this great man fell under the weight of his fortunes.

"Hon<sup>ble</sup> L<sup>d</sup> and in this my distress my especiall refuge, most wofull was y<sup>e</sup> newes I receyved this eveninge by Mr. Lientenant, that I must prepare my selfe ag<sup>o</sup> to morrowe to receyve my deadly stroke. Alas, my good L<sup>d</sup>, is my crime so heynows as see redemp<sup>o</sup>n but my bloud can washe away y<sup>e</sup> spottes thereof? An old proverbe there is, and yt is most true, y<sup>e</sup> a lyving dogge is better than a dead lyon. Oh y<sup>e</sup> would please her good Grace to give me life, yea y<sup>e</sup> life of a dogge, y<sup>e</sup> I might lyve, and kisse her feet, and spend both life and all, in her hon<sup>ble</sup> services, as I have y<sup>e</sup> best part already under her worthy brother, & her most glorious father. Oh y<sup>e</sup> her mercy were such as she would consyder how little profit my dead and dismembered body can bringe her; but how great and glorious an honor will be in all posterityes, when y<sup>e</sup> report shall be y<sup>e</sup> soe gracious & mighty a Queen granted life to soe miserable & penitent an abject. Your honorable usage and promises to me since these my troubles have made me bold to challenge this

kindness at your handes: Pardon me if I have done amiss therein, & w<sup>ch</sup> not, I pray, your bended knees for me in this distresse. Y<sup>e</sup> God of heaven, ■ may be, will requite it one day on you or your's; ■ if my life be lengthened by your medic<sup>n</sup>, ■ my good L<sup>d</sup> Chancellor's, to whom I have alsoe sent my blurred L<sup>r</sup>, I will ever ■ to be spent at your ■ feet. Oh, good my Lord, remember how ■ life is, & how bitter y<sup>e</sup> contrary. Spare not your speech and paines, for God I hope, hath not shutt out all hopes of ■ from me in y<sup>e</sup> gracious, princely, and woman-like harts, but y<sup>e</sup> as the dolefull newes of death hath wounded to ■ both my soule ■ bodye, ■ y<sup>e</sup> comfortable ■ of life shall ■ as ■ new resurrec<sup>n</sup> to my wofull heart. But, ■ noe remedy ■ be founde, eyther by imprison<sup>m</sup>, confiscation, banishm<sup>t</sup>, ■ the like, I can saye noe more but God grant me patyence to endure, and a heart to forgive, the whole world.

"Once yo<sup>r</sup> fellowe ■ lovinge companion, but ■ worthy of noe name but wretchednes ■ misery.

J. D."

The next day, the twenty-second of August, 1553, he ■ brought out ■ suffer execution on Tower Hill, where he uttered ■ long speech to the multitude, in the same strain of miserable humiliation. Fox, ■ blacken Mary and her government, inform<sup>s</sup> ■ that he ■ promise ■ pardon, "■ if his head were on the block," which that address tended to contradict, ■ which indeed is fully refuted by the ■ of his letter to Lord Arundel. ■ true that, contrary to the profession of ■ life, he ■ himself on the scaffold a son of the Romish Church, ■ very natural artifice at such a moment. He ■ indeed ■ have been indifferent ■ to modes of faith, and perhaps, to religion in general.

Dudley married Jane, daughter of Sir Edward, and ■ and ■ of ■ Henry Guildford, ■ Guildford, ■ commonly called, by whom he had eight sons, and five daughters. Henry, the eldest, was killed at the siege ■ Boulogne, at the

age of nineteen ; Thomas, died an infant ; John, who bore the title of Earl of Warwick, and died a few months after the death of his father ; Ambrose, who was restored to that title by Queen Elizabeth ; Robert, who became also in that reign Earl of Leicester, and the great favourite of that Princess ; Guildford, who has been mentioned, and whom his father's ambition led to the scaffold ; Henry, killed at the siege ■ St. Quintin's, in 1557 ; and Charles, who died in infancy. The daughters were Mary, wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and mother to the admirable Philip ; Catherine, married to Henry Hastings, Earl ■ Huntingdon ; Margaret, Temperance, and another Catherine, who died infants.













## THOMAS HOWARD,

DUKE OF NORFOLK

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THE most exalted person, who was the eldest of the eight sons of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk of his family, and Lord High Treasurer, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Frederic Tylney, of Ashwellthorpe, in Norfolk, was created Earl of Surrey by patent, on the first of February, 1513, when his father was restored to the Dukedom, which had been forfeited by the attainder of John, the first Duke, on the accession of Henry the Seventh. His first public service, at a very early age, was in the command of a ship of war in the force sent in 1512 against Sir Andrew Barton, whom most of our historians absurdly call the "famous Scottish pirate," and he had an eminent share in the naval victory in which that brave commander was killed. He soon after accompanied Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, in his expedition into Spain against the French, and, the Marquis falling sick, had then the command of the English army. In 1513, upon the death of his younger brother, Sir Edward, he was appointed to succeed him as Lord Admiral of England, and immediately after, to use the words of a very honest historian, "so completely scourged the seas that not a fisher boat of the French durst venture out." That service performed, he landed in Scotland with the same troops which had been so successful at sea; for the military of that time acted indifferently in both duties; and sent a gallant summons to defiance to the King of Scots, which Lord Herbert in his

history has detailed at a length of which the limited nature of this work will not allow the repetition ; nor was this a vain threat, for he commanded, together with his brother the Lord Edmund, the vanguard ■ the battle of Flodden, and had an eminent share in the merit of the signal victory obtained there.

There is a chasm in his history from that date till 1521, when he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. It ■ been said that he was placed in that arduous office to avoid the opposition which ■ expected from him to the prosecution of his father-in-law the Duke of Buckingham, whose ruin Henry and Wolsey had previously determined on. If this be true, the fact casts on his character all the lustre which ancient loyalty derived from a disregard of selfish interests ■ affections, for both his civil ■ military government in Ireland were eminently distinguished by their wisdom, vigilance, moderation and activity ; and having, with a dreadful ■ necessary severity, subdued ■ insurrection which on his arrival he found raging in almost every part ■ the island, he quitted it in January, 1523, loaded with the gratitude and caresses of the civilised Irish, and leaving a Parliament then sitting, from the measures of which, under his auspices, they had obtained the most signal benefits. In the May following his return, he was again ■ sea ; escorted the Emperor Charles the Fifth to this country ; and was by that monarch appointed Admiral of all his dominions. Under the authority of that commission he joined the ships of Flanders with the English fleet, and made a descent on the coast of Brittany, when he burned the town ■ Morlaix, and other places, and laid waste the French borders, and afterwards extended his irruption into Picardy.

On the fourth of the following December, upon his father's resignation, he was raised to the office of Lord Treasurer, and on the sixth of February received a commission as General-in-chief of the army then appointed to serve against the Scots, to which was secretly annexed the most ample confi-

dence and power with regard to the political affairs of England with that country. He returned for a short time in the summer of 1524 to take possession of his dignities and estates, and resuming soon after his charge in Scotland, accomplished the main object which Henry at that time had in view, by detaching the young King of Scots from the subjection in which he was by the Regent, Duke of Albany, or, in other words, by placing him under the control of England. This service was rewarded by a grant of additional territory to his already immense domains.

The memorable fall of Wolsey, who had been the father's enemy, happening after, he, together with Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was commissioned from that degraded favourite the great seal. It has been said that, the Cardinal's reluctant delay to obey the King's subsequent order for his residence in his see of York, the Duke was expelled from him by Cromwell, threatening, on longer stay, to "tear him with his teeth." This very improbable story rests, I believe, wholly on the given by Stowe, whose honesty and simplicity occasionally misled him to give credit to very idle tales. All that we know with certainty of the Duke which has any relation to Wolsey, beyond the little which has been already related, is that his name appears among those of the Lords who signed the articles of impeachment against the Cardinal, and that Henry soon after granted to him the monastery of Felixtow in Suffolk, which was one of many that had been allotted the endowment of the colleges which the prelate was about to found in Oxford and Ipswich.

He took a very active part in promoting the measure of Henry's divorce from Catherine; subscribed, many other Peers, the bold declaration which on the first agitation of that great affair was sent to Rome, and which, in handsome terms, threatened the Holy See with Henry's assumption of the Supremacy in case of the Pope's opposition to it; he presided in several negotiations with the French King.

Francis I. His wisdom and steadfast fidelity with which those services, so very acceptable to the King, were performed, procured him many marks of favour, and he received from the Crown in 1534 a further grant of estates, and in the same year was appointed to the exalted, and then most powerful, office of Earl Marshal of England, which had been, seemingly for that purpose, vacated by the resignation of the Duke of Suffolk. He was also in that year once more constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland.

In 1536 he was again sent Ambassador to Paris, to endeavour, through the mediation of Francis the First, to procure a reversal of the Pope's decree of censure against Henry on account of the divorce; and in the following year performed perhaps the most signal service to be found in the history of his long and various ministry, by subduing the insurgents in Yorkshire, who were headed by Robert Aske. He displayed on that occasion all the talents of an able general and an able politician, for he was compelled by the superior force of his opponents to relinquish his military operations, and to enter into negotiation, and conducted the negotiation with such address that the insurrection was suppressed almost without bloodshed. It is worthy of remark, as it proves the unlimited confidence which Henry then reposed in this great man, that he was well known to favour all the religious and many of the civil, claims of the insurgents; and it would be difficult to find a parallel instance of the equal maintenance of loyalty and private principle under similar circumstances.

It was soon after this period that Henry's passion for the Lady Catherine Howard, and his consequent determination to repudiate Anne of Cleves, discovered themselves. Cromwell, who had made the match with Anne, instantly applied himself with all diligence to oppose both those dispositions; and the Duke, who already disliked him for the active part he had taken in the Reformation, naturally conceived the highest degree of resentment against the man who undea-

voured to impede his niece's progress to the station of Queen Consort. On the thirteenth of June, 1540, he impeached Cromwell of high treason, and, after, that extraordinary man fell a sacrifice to the caprice of his inhuman master, which in this instance was sustained by the jealousy of the nobility, and the prejudices of the people. On the twenty-ninth of January following that event, the Duke was appointed Lieutenant General of all the King's forces beyond the river Trent, and, on the first of September, 1542, Captain General of the army in the North, at the head of which he ravaged the frontiers of Scotland in the succeeding March. He soon after nominated commander of the rear, and then of the vanguard, of the English army in France, appointments which the peace speedily rendered almost useless.

engaged in these services the short-lived elevation of Queen Catherine suddenly and tragically terminated, and the disgust which her frailty excited in Henry's inexorable heart extended itself to her family. This motive aggravated the jealousies already conceived on account of the Duke's professed attachment to the ancient religion, and of the immense power and wealth with which the King had so largely contributed to invest him. Henry dreaded that all the influence of each would be applied to the re-establishment of that religion, and to the support of the right succession, in his issue by Catherine of Arragon; he determined on his death-bed that the Duke, and his admirable son the Duke of Surrey, should not survive him. Amidst the struggles of expiring nature, he held out temptations to any who would furnish evidence against these eminent persons, and, these endeavours proving fruitless, accused them of high treason merely on an inference drawn from their having quartered with the armorial ensigns of their family the royal arms of England, and of the ward the Confessor. He accomplished, as is well known, his dreadful purpose with regard to the Earl, and the Duke

escaped miraculously. Broken down by infirmity, solitary imprisonment, he sought for mercy to his family by concessions and apologies, the effect of which was turned against himself. He was prosecuted by a bill of attainder, which hurried through both Houses of Henry's too obedient Parliament, and was despatched the twenty-ninth of January, 1547, for his execution; but the King on the preceding night, and the Privy Council judged it unfit to stain the first days of the new reign with the best blood of the country.

The reformers, however, availed themselves with a secret joy of the prettexts against the Duke which Henry bequeathed to them. He was kept a close prisoner in the Tower during the six years that Edward the Sixth was on the throne, and was not released till the third of August, 1553, the very day in which Mary made her public entry into London to the possession of the throne, when he was immediately restored, simply by her sovereign fiat, to his dignities. The Parliament after confirmed this extraordinary mark of grace and power by an act of repeal of the attainder, in which, with an ill-merited complaisance to the memory of Henry, they laid on their predecessors all the blame of the Duke's persecution. At the close of a fortnight from his liberation, such were the sudden changes of fortune in those days, he presided as Lord High Steward on the trial of his bitter enemy John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. In the following year he raised and equipped his household and dependents, and marched at their head against Sir Thomas Wyatt. It was his first public service in which he was unfortunate. They were wrought on by artful suggestions of the purity of the cause they had been called on to oppose, and the insurgents; the Duke, now more than eighty years of age, that period retired from all public business, and died seated at Kenninghall in Norfolk, on the twenty-fifth of August in the same year, 1554, and was buried in Framlingham in Suffolk, leaving, as appears

by the inquisition after his death, notwithstanding repeated spoils that his ancestors and himself suffered, fifty-six manors, and thirty-seven advowsons, with other considerable

Thomas, third of Norfolk, married first, Anne, daughter of King Edward the Fourth, who brought him son, Thomas, who died young,—on the fourth of August, 1508, was buried at Lambeth: secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, by whom he had two sons, Henry, celebrated of Surrey, and Thomas, who in the first year of Elizabeth was created Viscount Howard of Bindon, in the county of Dorset; daughter, Mary, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, a natural Henry Eighth.













## THE LADY JANE GREY,

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■■■ perhaps more prudent to adopt the inveterate absurdity, almost invariably ■■■ in this instance, of designating a married woman by her maiden surname, than to incur the charge of obscurity or affectation by giving her ■■■ of her husband. It is most ■■■ to guess in what motive this singular folly could have originated, more especially ■■■ her ephemeral greatness, and its tragical termination, the only important circumstances of ■■■ public history, ■■■ of the ■■■ of her union with him. It is needless however, and perhaps nearly needless, to attempt to solve that difficulty, and ■■■ question between common ■■■ and propriety ■■■ the one hand, and obstinate habit on the other, I am content ■■■ take the wrong side.

This prodigy of natural and acquired talents, of innocence and sweetness of temper and manners, and of frightful and unmerited calamity, ■■■ born in 1637, the eldest ■■■ the three daughters of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, by the Lady Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and of his illustrious consort, Mary, Queen Dowager ■■■ France, and youngest sister of Henry the Eighth. The story of her almost infancy, ■■■ it not authenticated by several whose veracity ■■■ ■■■ unquestionable ■■■ their judgment, would ■■■ wholly incredible. ■■■ education, ■■■ ■■■ fashion ■■■ time, which extended the benefits and the delights ■■■ erudition to her sex, was of that character, and was conducted by John Aylmer, ■■■ protestant clergyman, whom her father entertained as his domestic chaplain, and who was afterwards

raised by Elizabeth to the see of London. For this gentleman she cherished a solid esteem and respect, mixed with a child-  
 which doubtless tended to forward her success of her studies. Those sentiments arose in some measure out of domestic circumstances. That elegant and profound scholar, and frequent of royalty, Roger Ascham, informs us in his "Schoolmaster," that, making a visit of ceremony on his going abroad to her parents in their mansion of Broadgate in Leicestershire, he found her in her own apartment, reading the *Phædon* of Plato in the original, while her father and mother, with all their household, were hunting in the park. Ascham expressing his surprise she should be absent from the party, she answered, to use his own words, "All their sport in the park I wisse is but a to that pleasure that I find in Plato—alas, good folk, they never what pleasure meant." "And how," joined Ascham, "came you, Madam, to this deep knowledge pleasure; and what did chiefly allure you to it, seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained thereto?" To this she replied, with a sweet simplicity, that God had blessed her by giving her sharp and severe parents, and a gentle schoolmaster; "for," adds she, "when I am in the presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am sharply taunted, and cruelly threatened, till the time come that I must go to Mr. Aylmer, who teacheth me gently, pleasantly, such allurements learning, that I think all the time nothing whilst I am with him; and thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, than in respect all other pleasures in very deed but trifles and very troubles unto me."

Whether Ascham's first knowledge of her extraordinary occurred period is unknown, but he cer-

tainly gave soon after the strongest proofs of the respect in which **she** **valued** them. A long letter remains, perhaps one of many which he addressed to her, in which he declares his high opinion of her understanding as well as **of** her learning, and requests of her not only to answer him in Greek, but to write a letter in the same language to his friend John Sturmian, a scholar whose elegant latinity had procured him the title of "the Cicero of Germany," that he might have an indifferent witness to the truth of the report which he would **make** in that country of her qualifications. **He** speaks of her elsewhere with **an** actual enthusiasm. "Aristotle's praise of women," says he, "is perfected in her. She possesses good manners, prudence, and a love of labour. **She** possesses every talent, without the least weakness, of her sex. She speaks French and Italian as well as she does English. **She** writes elegantly, and with propriety. **She** has more than once spoken Greek to me, and writes in Latin **with** great strength of sentiment." Sir Thomas Chaloner, **her** contemporary, not only corroborates Ascham's particulars of her erudite accomplishments, but adds that "she was well versed in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic; that she excelled also in the various branches of ordinary feminine education; played well on instrumental music, sung exquisitely, wrote an elegant hand, and excelled in curious needlework, and, with all these rare endowments, was of **a** mild, humble, and modest spirit." Fuller, who lived a century after her, condensing, with the quaint eloquence which distinguished him, the fruit of all authorities regarding her **life** which he **was** acquainted, says that "she had the innocence of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen; the birth of a princess, the learning of a clerk, the life of a saint, and the death of a malefactor for her parents' offences."

Her progress from this beautiful **state** of innocence and refinement to that dismal end was but as a single step, and **the** **interval** relative to her which **the** **short** interval



were matters rather of public than of personal history. By a marvellous fatality this admirable young creature was doomed to become the nominal head and actual centre of a faction, and a victim to the most guilty ambition. The circumstances of the great contest for rule between the Protector Somerset and Dudley were distinguished the short reign of Edward the Sixth will be found elsewhere largely treated of in this work. The latter having effected the ruin of his antagonist, employed his first moments of leisure in devising the means of maintaining the vast but uncertain power which he had so acquired. Among these the most obvious, and perhaps the most hopeful, was the establishment of marriage contracts between his own numerous issue and the children of the most potent of the nobility, and thus, early in the year 1553, Lady Jane Grey, for whose father he had lately procured the Dukedom of Suffolk, became the consort of his youngest son, Guildford Dudley. He was secretly prompted however to form this union by the conception of peculiar views, not so extravagant as splendid. Edward, the natural delicacy of whose frame had promised a long life, had shown symptoms of pulmonary disease, and the confusion and uncertainty which the brutal selfishness of his father Henry had entailed on the succession to the crown suggested to the ardent and unprincipled Northumberland the possibility of diverting it into his family under such pretensions as might be founded on the descent of his daughter-in-law.

The absurdity of this reverie, legally indeed rationally considered, was self-evident. Not to mention the existence of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, who might plausibly enough be said to stand under some circumstances of disinherison, Jane descended from a younger sister of Henry, and there was issue in being from the elder; nay her own mother, through whom alone she could claim, was living; and the marriages both of her mother and her grandmother had been very fairly charged with illegality. Opposed to these disadvantages were the enormous power of the

party [redacted] surrounded Northumberland ; his [redacted] complete influence over the mind of the young King ; and the affection which an agreement of age, talents, tempers, and studies, had produced in Edward towards his fair kinswoman, and which the Duke and his creatures used all practicable artifice to increase. The nuptials were celebrated with great splendour in the royal palace, [redacted] the King's health presently after rapidly declined, insomuch that Northumberland saw no time was to be lost in proceeding to the consummation of his mighty project. Historians, with a licence too commonly used by them, [redacted] recite with much gravity the very arguments used by him to persuade Edward to nominate Jane [redacted] successor, of which [redacted] utterly impossible [redacted] they should have been informed. All that can be truly said is that he gained his point to the utmost of [redacted] hopes [redacted] wishes.

The King [redacted] induced, apparently with [redacted] difficulty, [redacted] agree to certain articles, previously sanctioned by the Privy Council, declaring her next heir [redacted] the Crown, and, for [redacted] long [redacted] forgotten, but probably because it [redacted] expected that [redacted] would [redacted] most pliable, [redacted] Montague, Chief Justice of [redacted] Common Pleas, was [redacted] from the Judges, to digest and methodise them, with the aid [redacted] Attorney and Solicitor General, into [redacted] strictest form that they could devise. Montague however, whose own account of [redacted] share in the transaction is extant, demurred. Having at [redacted] vainly endeavoured to withdraw himself entirely from the task, he sought to gain time, perhaps in expectation of [redacted] King's death, by beseeching [redacted] be allowed to consult the statutes, and [redacted] other authorities which might have any relation to [redacted] high a subject. Urged [redacted] length, with a vehemence no longer to be resisted, to proceed, he reported to [redacted] Council that the proposed measure was not only contrary to law, but would, if he [redacted] obey their command, subject themselves, as well as him, [redacted] the penalty of high treason. Northumberland [redacted] that moment

entered the council chamber with the utmost extravagance and fury; called Montague a traitor; swore that he would "fight him in his shirt" who might gainsay the King's inclination; and was actually about to strike the Justice, Bromley, the Attorney General. They retired, when they were summoned, the King, being present, reproved them sharply for delaying their duty required of them. At length, over-awed, they consented, on condition of receiving an authority under the Great Seal, and a general pardon; and the instrument being prepared, the rest of the judges were required to attend, to sign it, which was accordingly done by all, except one, James Hales, a Justice of the Common Pleas, and a man otherwise unknown, who, to his endless honour, steadfastly refused to the last. The Primate, Cranmer, with that unfortunate irresolution which was the only distortion in the symmetry of his beautiful character, approved of Jane's succession, but objected to the mode of accomplishing it; contended, perhaps with more vigour than might have been expected of him, but in vain, and submitted, and signed, with the rest of the Council, not only the document which had been prepared by the lawyers, but also a second, by which they bound themselves in the strictest engagement on oath to support her title, and to prosecute with the utmost severity any one among them who might in any degree swerve from that obligation.

The letters patent, confirming to Jane the succession to the throne, was signed by the King on the twenty-first of June, 1553, and on the sixth of the month he expired. The events, and even of his secret scheme for her elevation, were kept in perfect ignorance. The King's death was sedulously concealed from all for a few days, which Northumberland employed in endeavouring to secure the support of the city, and to get into the hands of Princess Mary, who was on her way to London, before it occurred. She was however warned of her danger, and retreated; asserted without delay her title to the Crown

in a letter to the Privy Council; and received an answer full of disdain, and professions of firm allegiance to her unconscionable competitor. While these things were passing, Northumberland, the father, repaired to Jane, having read her the instrument invested her with sovereignty, on their knees, and their homage. Having somewhat recovered from astonishment, excited by the news, she intreated with the utmost earnestness and sincerity that she might be relieved from the instrument of such injustice to the right heirs, insult to the kingdom, and that they would spare her, her husband, and themselves, from the terrible dangers in which it might involve them. Her arguments however were unavailing, and no other way was left to her but a positive refusal, in which perhaps the strength of mind which she certainly possessed might have enabled her to persist, when the Duchess, her mother, and the young and inexperienced Guildford, called in, and to their solicitations she yielded. She was escorted in regal state to the Tower, on her entry into which it is remarkable that her train was borne by her mother, and in the afternoon of the same day, the tenth of July, was proclaimed in London with the usual solemnities.

In the mean time Mary, who had retired to Kenninghall in Norfolk, assumed the title of Queen, and found her warmly espoused by many of the nobility, nearly the whole of the yeomanry and inferior population of that and the adjacent counties. Those who ruled in the metropolis, who, having fondly considered her as a fugitive, had stationed some ships on those coasts to intercept her on her expected flight to Flanders, were now suddenly compelled to oppose a military force to oppose the hourly increasing multitude of her supporters. Eight thousand horse were collected with surprising expedition, under the command which was assumed by Northumberland, and he agreed

remain in London to conduct the government, an unlucky transposition arising from Jane's anxiety for the personal safety of her father, whose experience was in martial affairs, while Dudley, with all the arts of a statesman, possessed few of those qualities which win the hearts of soldiers, or bespeak success in the field. At the head however of this force he marched from London on the fourteenth of July, having taken leave of the Council in a short time from which his doubts of their fidelity may be clearly inferred. They were in that moment agreed to betray his extravagant and unjust cause which they had lately supported. Even on the following day their intrigues became so evident that Suffolk, in the barrenness of political invention, commanded in the name of the Queen that the gates of the Tower should be kept constantly closed to prevent the mischief which he apprehended from their communication with the adverse party. The Lord Treasurer with great difficulty procured egress for a few hours, and returned with the news that the naval squadron which had been equipped with the view of seizing the person of Mary had revolted to her, and letters were received from Northumberland pressing for reinforcements, and reporting the gradual defection of his troops on their march. The Council were affected the warmest zeal, and eagerly represented the impossibility of raising such an army otherwise than by the personal appearance among their friends and dependants, most of them offering to go to the field with such forces as they might respectively raise. Suffolk, deceived by these professions, and by the contents of their despatches to other powerful men in the country to the same effect, consented to release them from their imprisonment, for such was actually his intention. He did so, and they repaired, headed by the Duke of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, to Baynard's Castle, the residence of the latter, those noblemen, who had but a few weeks before married his heir to a sister of the unfor-

Jane, where they determined to proclaim Queen Mary, which was done on the same day, the nineteenth of July,

Jane received from her father the same her deposition with the patience, the sweetness, and the magnanimity, which belonged to her surprising character. She reminded him with gentleness of her unwillingness to accept the short-lived elevation, and expressed her hope that it might in some measure atone for the grievous fault committed by accepting it; declared that her relinquishment of the regal power was the first voluntary act which she had performed since it was first proposed to raise her to it; and humbly prayed that the faults of others might be treated with lenity, in a charitable consideration of that disposition in herself. The weak and miserable Suffolk hastened to join the Council, and arrived in time to add his signature to a despatch to Northumberland, requiring him to surrender his troops, and submit himself to Queen Mary, which however he had done before the messenger arrived. Jane, whose royal palace had now become the prison of herself and her husband, saw, within very few days, its gates close also on her father, and on his. The termination of Northumberland's guilty career, which speedily followed, was well known; but Suffolk, for some time yet undiscovered, was spared. It has been supposed that the Duchess, who remained in liberty, and is said to have possessed some share of the Queen's favour, interceded successfully for him; and why may we not ascribe this forbearance to the clemency of Mary, in whose rule we find many instances of cruelty but those which originated in devout bigotry,—a vice which while engaged in its proper pursuits inevitably suspends the operation of all other charities of nature?

There was indeed little room to doubt that she meditated to extend her mercy to the innocent Jane and her youthful spouse. They were it is true arraigned and convicted of high treason on the third of November following the date of

their offence, and sentenced to die, but the execution was delayed, and they were allowed several [ ] and indulgences scarcely ever granted to state prisoners under their circumstances. [ ] hopes however thus excited were [ ] short by the occurrence of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, in which her father, while the [ ] scarcely cold [ ] pardon, madly and ungratefully became an active party, accompanied by his two brothers. Thus Mary saw already the great house of Grey once more publicly in array against her [ ]. The incentives [ ] this insurrection [ ] somewhat involved in mystery, and have been variously reported. [ ] avowed pretence for it was [ ] aversion [ ] the Queen's proposed marriage with Philip of Spain, [ ] there is strong reason to believe that with this motive was mixed, [ ] in the breasts of the leaders, a secret intention to re-assert the claim [ ] Jane [ ] and Bishop Cooper, a contemporary historian, [ ] plainly [ ] Chronicle, that the [ ] of Suffolk, "in divers places [ ] he went, again proclaimed his daughter." Be this however as it might, it was now resolved to put her [ ] without delay, [ ] it [ ] pretty well [ ] that the Queen confirmed that determination with much reluctance [ ] regret.

[ ] without discomposure, and [ ] even anxious [ ] receive the final blow, [ ] here the bigotry of Mary interfered, and [ ] commanded [ ] efforts should be spared [ ] reconcile her to that church which arrogantly denies salvation to those who die not in its bosom. She suffered the importunities, and perhaps the harshness, of [ ] of its [ ] eminent ministers, with equal urbanity and firmness. At length [ ] left to Feckenham, Mary's favourite chaplain, [ ] afterwards Abbot of Westminster, a priest who united to a steady but well-tampered [ ] acute understanding, and great sweetness of manners, and by him, according [ ] the fashion of the day, she was invited to a disputation [ ] chief points of difference between the two churches. She told him that she could not spare the

time ; " that controversy might ■ ■ for the living, but not for the dying ; and intreated him, as the best proof of the compassion which ■ ■ professed for her, to leave her to ■ ■ her peace with God." ■ ■ conceived from these expressions ■ ■ ■ ■ unwilling to quit ■ ■ world, and obtained ■ ■ her a short reprieve, which when he communicated ■ ■ she assured ■ ■ that he had misunderstood her, for that, far from desiring that her death might be delayed, " she expected, and wished for it, as the period of her miseries, and of her entrance ■ ■ eternal happiness." ■ ■ then ■ ■ her into the proposed conference, in which she acquitted herself with a firmness, a power of argument, and presence of mind, truly astonishing. Unable to work the slightest impression, ■ ■ left her, and she ■ ■ calmly down to make a minute of the substance of their discourse, which she signed, and which may be found in most of our ecclesiastical histories. ■ ■ now addressed a farewell letter to her father, in which, with much mildness of expression, though certainly with less benignity of sentiment than ■ ■ usually ascribed to her, ■ ■ repeatedly glances ■ ■ him ■ ■ the author of her unhappy fate. She wrote also to her sister, the Lady Katherine Herbert, in the blank leaves of a Greek Testament, which she requested might be delivered as her legacy to that lady, ■ ■ epistle in the ■ ■ language, the translation of which, however frequently already published, ought not to be omitted here.

" I have sent you, my dear sister Katherine, a book, which, although ■ ■ be not outwardly trimmed with gold, ■ ■ the curious embroidery of the artfullest needles, yet inwardly ■ ■ is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of. It is the book, my only best loved sister, ■ ■ the law of the Lord. It is the testament and ■ ■ will which he bequeathed unto ■ ■ wretches and wretched sinners, which shall lead you to the path ■ ■ eternal joy ; and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, ■ ■ doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and



everlasting life. ■ will teach you to live and to die. It shall win you more, and endow you with greater felicity, than you should have gained by the possession of our woful father's lands; for as if God had prospered him you should have inherited his honours and manors, so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an inheritor of such riches as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire, with David, my dear sister, to understand the law ■ the Lord thy God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life; and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life, for unto God, when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons, are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorified in the young as in the old. My good sister, once again more let me intreat thee to learn to die. Deny the world, defy the devil, ■ despise ■ flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord: Be penitent for your sins: and yet despair not: Be strong in faith, yet presume not: and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. ■ like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh, and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you be with the servants of darkness found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil you be found like the five foolish virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be cast into darkness, or banished from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I trust you do; and, seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can follow the steps, and be a true imitator of your master Christ Jesus, and take up your cross, lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him.

“Now, as touching my death, rejoice as I do, my dearest sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put

no incorruption ; for I am assured that I shall for losing ■ mortal life win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting, to which I pray God grant you in his blessed hour, and send you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from which in God's name I exhort you that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death ; for, if you will deny his truth to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you by your soul's loss would prolong ; but if you will cleave to him, he will stretch forth your days to an uncircumscribed comfort, and to his own glory : to the which glory God bring ■ now, and you hereafter when ■ please him to call you. Farewell ■ again, my ■ sister, and put your only trust ■ God, who only must help you. Amen.

" Your loving sister,

" JANE DUBLEY."

This letter was written in the evening of ■ eleventh of February, 1554, N.S., and on ■ following morning she was led to execution. Before she left her apartment she had beheld from a window the passage of her husband to the scaffold, and the return of his mangled corse. She then sat down, and wrote in her tablets three short passages, in as many languages. The first, in Greek, is thus translated—" If his slain body shall give testimony against me before men, his blessed soul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence before God." The second, from the Latin—" The justice of men took away his body, but the divine mercy has preserved his soul." The third was in English—" If my fault deserved punishment, my youth and my imprudence were worthy of excuse ; God and posterity will show me favour." This precious relique ■ gave to ■ Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Brydges, ■ after created Lord Chandos. Endeavours had been incessantly used

LADY JANE GREY.

to gain her over to the Roman persuasion, and Feckenham embarrassed her by his exhortations even to the moment of her death, immediately before which, she took him by the hand, and thanked him courteously for his good meaning, but assured him that they had caused her more uneasiness than all the terrors of her approaching fate. Having addressed to those assembled about her a short speech, less remarkable for the matter which it contained than for the total absence even of an allusion to her attachment to the reformed church, she was put to death, fortunately by a single stroke of the axe.





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## HENRY GREY,

OF DORSET.

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THIS nobleman, who, by an inversion which rarely occurs in the history of a family, obtained all his public importance from his offspring, was the eldest son and heir of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by Margaret, daughter of Sir William Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, in Kent, relict of William Medley. The antiquity and splendour of his name and descent are so well known that it is unnecessary to speak of them: of his character and conduct, considering him individually, and as a free agent, we have scarcely any intelligence. "He was a man," says Sir John Hayward, in his *Life of Edward the Sixth*, "for his harmless simplicity, neither too much nor much regarded:" but he was distinguished by an example of universal excellence, Jane Grey, and it is chiefly on that ground that his memory can found any claim to historical recollection.

He had been at an early age contracted by his father to Catherine, daughter of William Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, whose son and successor, Henry, Lord Maltravers, was at the same time espoused to his sister, the Lady Catherine Grey. The Marquis's marriage proved fruitless, and the vanity of forming an alliance with royalty suggested to him, soon after the death of his father, which happened in 1530, the iniquitous expedient of repudiating his innocent wife. Lady Jane Brandon, daughter of Charles, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, sister to Henry



the Eighth, encouraged his addresses; and, as that despot approved of their union, it is almost needless to say that the divorce was accomplished without difficulty. He married Frances Brandon, and had by her three daughters, of whom Jane was the first-born.

He had been admitted into the number of the early companions and intimates of Henry, and is said to have been brave and generous; perhaps in other words daring in tournaments, and careless of expense in his equipments for them, and for other gorgeous gallantries of the court. He left it however soon after his second marriage, and retired unambitiously to his great estates, where he remained for many years in a magnificent privacy, occupied in the usual sports and hospitalities of the country, and in the indulgence, as we are told by one author, of some taste for letters; a report which derives additional credit from the extensively learned education bestowed on his children, as remarkably exemplified in that of Jane. The circumstances which withdrew him from this honourable and happy retirement have been so fully stated in a sketch of the life of that lady, already given in this work, that it would be impertinent here to much more than refer to them, and his own subsequent story will present little more than the barren detail of the conduct of a mere instrument in the hands of another. It will be there that Dudley, having pulled down the great antagonist the Protector Somerset, and gained possession of the person and mind of the youthful and declining Edward, conceived the extravagant idea of availing himself of Dorset's royal marriage as a means to seize on the crown. When in 1551 he procured for himself the Dukedom of Northumberland, he obtained for the Marquis that of Suffolk, and used all other artifices to attach him to his interest. Suffolk however was not yet gained over, for when, at the close of the same year, the Protector was tried by his Peers on charges of high treason, the most material of which was an alleged design to kill Dudley, after the trial, "the Lords," to use again the

words of Hayward, "went together, and first the Duke of Suffolk nobly said that he held it not reasonable that, this being but a contention between private subjects, under pretension thereof any mean action should be drawn to intention of treason." Northumberland carefully considered the opposition which he suffered from this opposition; Suffolk was presently gratified with the office of Justice in Eyre of all the King's Forests; and soon after appointed Lord Warden of the east, west, and middle Marches towards Scotland.

It was about this time that Northumberland proposed to him the marriage of his third son, Lord Guildford Dudley, with the ill-fated Jane, and met with a ready acquiescence. Edward, who was evidently sinking under an incurable malady, was prevailed on to nominate her as his successor to the crown, which only the earnest solicitations of her family induced her most unwillingly to accept. In the mean time the vigilance of Mary's friends, and the sudden defection of several of the most powerful of Northumberland's party, left Suffolk barely time for the empty ceremonies of swearing allegiance, and doing homage, to the ephemeral regality of his daughter. He feebly affected for a few days to direct the measures of her government, while his more guilty coadjutor marched, at the head of an army, to meet the adherents of Mary in the field, but to submit to them with the most abject submission. Suffolk, on receiving the news, followed his example in London, and having first stripped his daughter of the ensigns of royalty, joined the Privy Council, which had declared for Mary, in their expressions of loyalty to her. This artifice however, if such it may deserve to be called, proved too shallow. He was arrested, and sent to the Tower, where Jane and her husband were already imprisoned; and after a short confinement, was released without trial or penalty, for reasons which historians have in vain endeavoured to discover.

The fate of his family at this period rested on the prudence of his conduct. Justice, and even vengeance, if it was

entertained in the bosom of Mary, had been satisfied by the sacrifice of Northumberland, and of several of his associates. The rigours of the imprisonment of Jane and Guildford Dudley had been gradually relaxed, and the execution of their sentence of death more than once formally respited. Mary was known to have betrayed an inclination to spare [REDACTED]. In this critical hour, when a mere parricide on his part seemed to promise the happiest effects, Suffolk, without men, without money, without any apparent object, not only [REDACTED] wildly, with two of his brothers, into Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, but on [REDACTED] way to the quarters [REDACTED] insurgents, again proclaimed his daughter Queen in the towns through which [REDACTED] passed. A new scene of blood was now opened. Jane and her husband were presently led to [REDACTED] scaffold, and the Duke, who seems not to have reached his destination, was betrayed by one of his servants to the Earl of Huntingdon, who had been sent to arrest him [REDACTED] the head of a strong body of horse. He was brought by that nobleman [REDACTED] London [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of February, 1554, [REDACTED] lodged in the Tower, and on the twenty-third of the same month was beheaded.

It has been already observed that this Duke had, in addition to Jane, two younger daughters; they were Catherine, wife first of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, from whom she was divorced, and secondly of [REDACTED] Seymour, Earl of Hertford; and Mary, most meanly married to Martin Keys, groom porter at the court.









## JOHN RUSSELL,

FIRST EARL OF RUSSELL

WE have here the founder of that immense fortune, and the first bearer of most of those exalted dignities, which still distinguish his posterity. He sprung however from no mean origin. His ancestors have been nearly four centuries in the first rank of English gentry, holding of the Crown, in the county of Dorset, a Baronial estate, which, on the failure of the elder line of the family, devolved on that from which he descended. One of his ancestors held municipal appointments of considerable trust and honour; others had sat in the House of Commons; his grandfather, John Russell, filled the office of Speaker early in the reign of Henry the Sixth. He was the eldest son of James Russell, of Kingston, the estate above alluded to (son and heir of that Sir John) by his first wife, Alice, daughter and heir of John Wyse, a gentleman of that county.

He owed his introduction at the court of Henry the Seventh to a mere accident. Philip, Archduke of Austria, and King of Castile, say our historians, having been shipwrecked in January 1508, at Weymouth, whither he was driven by a great storm, on his passage from Flanders to Spain, was entertained by Sir Thomas Trenchard, one of the chief persons of that part of Dorsetshire, in whose house he lived splendidly, till Henry had received the news of his arrival, and invited him to the Court. It chanced that Sir Thomas sent for his cousin, John Russell, then lately returned from his travels, with great



fame, [REDACTED] Dugdale informs us, for his [REDACTED] in foreign languages, to wait on the royal stranger, who was so much pleased by the conversation of [REDACTED] visitor, [REDACTED] he took the young man in his company to Windsor; recommended [REDACTED] strongly to Henry; and thus opened the way to his future fortune. It should seem, however, from certain historical circumstances which it is needless to state here, that the hospitable entertainment of the Austrian prince in Dorsetshire was in reality nothing [REDACTED] than [REDACTED] honourable captivity; [REDACTED] Trenchard might be considered rather as his gaoler than his host; and [REDACTED] Russell was appointed [REDACTED] watch him on the way to London, and to deliver his person safely to the King, a service very likely to please [REDACTED] Prince of Henry's character. Whether [REDACTED] conjectures be well or [REDACTED] founded, it [REDACTED] certain that Mr. Russell made his first appearance at Court on that occasion, and that the King immediately appointed him a gentleman of [REDACTED] Privy Chamber, and distinguished him from his fellows by [REDACTED] more than ordinary degree of kindness.

Henry the Eighth, who succeeded to the throne about four years after this event, received [REDACTED] with increased favour. They were about the [REDACTED] age, and Russell possessed [REDACTED] the qualities which usually attracted, however seldom they might secure, that Prince's favourable notice—a [REDACTED] and clear understanding; a courageous heart; and [REDACTED] learned education, finished and polished by foreign travel. We find him in that remarkable selection of youthful gallantry made by the King in 1513, to grace his invasion [REDACTED] France, where during the siege of Therouanne, Russell, with two hundred and fifty men, recovered a piece of ordnance from ten thousand [REDACTED] French, under the command of [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] generals; and afterwards, with singular bravery, [REDACTED] off a large supply of provisions which the enemy had sent towards the town. The latter of these services was so eminently distinguished, that our old chronicles have affected to preserve the very terms of a dialogue on it, between him and the King, who, when he saw him after his return from performing

it, believed he not yet out. "I," cried Henry, "while are fooling the relieved." "So indeed," answered the other, "for I have them two thousand carcasses, they spared twelve hundred of provision." "I, but," King, "I you to cut the bridge Dreban." "That," replied, "was the first thing I did; wherefore I am upon my knees for your Majesty's grace and pardon." "Nay then," concluded King, "by'r Lady thou hast not my pardon only, but my favour too." was not less active at the siege Tournay; was of Henry's commissioners in 1518 for restoration of that strong city to France; and in 1522, sailed again to the French coast, in that expedition which was commanded by the Earl of Surrey as Admiral, when he received knighthood from that nobleman for his good service the sacking of Morlaix.

In 1523 he first invested with the ministerial character; sent Ambassador to Rome, and from thence, with great secrecy, even, says Lord Herbert, "in disguised habit," to Charles Duke of Bourbon, to foment the difference then subsisting between that Prince and the King France. He prevailed on the Duke to join openly alliance between Henry and the Emperor, and personally engaged in most of the warlike enterprises which followed that junction. In fought the celebrated of Pavia; in Henry interview with Francis the First; in 1536 named, with Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Bryan, sit in judgment the Lincolnshire insurgents. On his return from that employment he appointed Comptroller of the Household, and, towards the same year, was sworn of the Privy Council.

On the twenty-ninth of March, 1538, he was created Baron Russell, of Cheney, in the county of Buckingham, an estate which had acquired by his wife; and in 1540, on the dissolution of the greater monasteries, became beyond all precedent, by grants from their spoil, particularly

in Devonshire, where he obtained, together with the borough and town of Tavistock, the entire demesne of its very rich abbey, comprising nearly thirty manors, with many large estates in other parts of the county, as well as those of Bucks and Somerset. In 1541 he was constituted Lord Admiral of England and Ireland, and President of the counties of Devon, Dorset, Cornwall, and Somerset; and, in the conclusion of that year, on some occasion of difference between his brother and Francis First, was sent with a military force into Picardy. On the third of December, 1543, the custody of the Privy Seal was committed to him; and in 1545, when Henry attacked Boulogne in person, he commanded the vanguard of the besieging army. The King, who died in the succeeding year, appointed him one of the sixteen executors to his will, who formed a Council of Regency for the administration of the kingdom during the minority of Edward the Sixth.

At the Coronation of the Prince he exercised the venerable and dignified office of Lord High Steward of England, and after received from the Crown a grant of the great estates of the dissolved monastery of Woburn, in Bedfordshire, which since became the chief residence of his heirs. A formidable insurrection in the western counties, in 1549, against the progress of the reformation, which he then pursued with the utmost vigour, called him again into military service. In the character of Governor of those provinces he patiently endeavoured by every possible exertion of the civil authority to restore order, and, finding all such measures ineffectual, placed himself at the head of the best armed force that he could muster, and attacked the insurgents with very inferior numbers. Of the straits to which he was frequently reduced, and the dangers to which he was exposed, in this unequal warfare; the judgment and bravery with which he extricated himself from them; and his final complete success; a very lengthened and particular account, highly interesting to those who inhabit that part of the

island, may be found in [REDACTED] Chronicle, and there only. It was an eminent public service, and he was rewarded accordingly; for on the nineteenth of January, 1549, O.S., he was created Earl of Bedford.

During his absence in the West commenced the attack on the Protector Somerset, which, though for a while suspended, terminated two years after in the tragical death of that great person. A large body of the Peers, prevailed on through the artifices of Dudley, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, had combined against the Protector, and shown themselves in open insurrection. He solicited the support of those whom he esteemed his friends, and of those who remained neutral. A letter from the Protector, probably circular, the Earl of Bedford, together with two from the Earl in answer, have been preserved by Hollinshed.

"After your right hartie commendations," says the Duke, "to your good Lordship, [REDACTED] of late risen such a conspiracy against the King's Majestie and us as never hath beene séene, which they can not mainteine, with vaine letters, and false surmises, as [REDACTED] or intended [REDACTED]. They pretend [REDACTED] saie that [REDACTED] have Bullonge to [REDACTED] French, and that [REDACTED] doe withhold [REDACTED] from the soldiars, and other such tales [REDACTED] letters they doe spread abroad, (of the which if anie one thing were true we would not wish to live,) the matter [REDACTED] being brought to a marvellous extremitie, such [REDACTED] would [REDACTED] have thought it could have [REDACTED] unto, especiallie of those [REDACTED] towards [REDACTED] King's Majestie and us, of whome we have deserved [REDACTED] such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and praie you to hasten you hither [REDACTED] defense of the King's Majestie, in [REDACTED] force and power as you maie, to shew the part of a true gentleman, and of a verie friend; the which thing we trust God shall reward, [REDACTED] King's Majestie, in time [REDACTED] come, and we shall be never unmyndfull of it too. We are sure you shall

have other letters from them, but, as ye tender your dutie to the King's Majestie, we require you to make no staie, but immediatlie repaire, with such force as ye have, to ■■■ Highnesse, in his castell at Windsor, and the rest of such force as ye maie make to follow you. And so we bid you right hartlie farewell. From Hampton Court, the sixt of October.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

"EDWARD SUMMERSET."

"To ■■■ letter," continues Hollinshed, "of the Lord Protector's, sent the sixt of October, the Lord Russell, returning answer againe vpon the eight of the said moneth, first lamented the heaue dissection fallen betweene the ■■■ and him, which he tooke for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God vpon this realme, being the next waie, said he, to make us of conquerors slaves; and like to induce vpon the whole realme an universall thraldome and calamitie, vnless the mercifull goodnesse of the Lord doo help, and some wise order be taken, in staieng ■■■ great extremities. And, as touching the Duke's request in his letters; for as much as he had heard before of the broile of the Lords, and feared least some conspiracie had beene meant against the King's person, ■■ hastied forward, with such companie as ■■ could make, for the snertie of the King, as to him appteined. Now, perceiuing by the Lords' letters sent vnto him the same sixt daie of October, these tumults to rise vpon privat causes betweene ■■■ and them, he therefore thought it expedient that convenient power should be levied, to be in ■■ readinesse to withstand ■■■ worst, what perils ■■■ might issue, ■■ the preservation both of the King and State of the realme from invasion of forren enemies, and also for the staieng of bloudshed, ■■ anie such thing should be intended betwixt the parties in ■■ heat of this faction. And ■■■ thinking best for the discharge of his allegiance, humble besought his Grace to have the same also in speciall regard and consideration; first, that the King's Majestie be put in

no feare; and that if there be any such thing wherein he hath given iust cause to them thus to proceed, he would so conformance himselfe as no such privat quarrels doo redound to the publike disturbance of the realme; certifieng moreover the Duke that, if it were true, which he understood by the letters of the Lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising of the commons, he liked not the same; notwithstanding he trusted well that his wisdoms would take such a waie as no effusion of blood should follow."

"And much being contained in his former letters the eight of October, in his next letters againe, written the eleventh of October, the said Lord Russell, rejoicing to heare of the most reasonable offers of the Lord Protector made to the Lords, wrote vnto him, and promised to doo what in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir William Herbert, joined together with him) did lie, to worke some honorable reconciliation betweene him and them; so as, his offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might issue, according to good hope and expectation; signifieng, moreover, that, as touching the levieng of men, they had resolved to have the same in readinesse for the of the realme, to occurre all inconveniences whatsoever, either by forren invasion or otherwise might happen: and so, having their power in hand to draw neere, whereby they might have the better opportunitee to be sollicitors and for this reformation in parts, &c. And thus much for the answer of the Lord Russell to the Lord Protector's letter."

These answers were of the caution of a politician than of the cordiality of a friend, or even the complaisance of a courtier. They were written, however, in a moment of great doubt and difficulty. It seems, no other intelligence remains of his conduct amidst that terrible intantion, he have steered, probably with equal honesty and wisdom, an even course between the two parties. Certain it

is that the downfall of Somerset neither increased nor diminished the favour in which he had been long held. During the greatest violence of the struggle [REDACTED] was his good fortune to be sent, with Lord Paget, Sir William Petre, and Sir John Mason, to treat of a peace with France, which was concluded at Guisnes, nearly [REDACTED] the same time when the flames of the faction at home were quenched by the blood [REDACTED] the Protector. He did not long survive the accession of Mary. His last public service was in an embassy of ceremony to Philip of Spain, whom he escorted in 1554 from Coronna to London, and introduced to that Princess as a bridegroom. He died at his house in the Strand, London, on the fourteenth of March, in the following year, and was buried at Cheneys, leaving by his Countess, Anna, daughter and sole heir to Sir Guy Sapcote, and widow of Sir Thomas Broughton, of Taddington, in Bedfordshire, an only child, Francis, his worthy and magnificent successor.

History affords us little on which to found a judgment of the first Earl of Bedford's character. His friends have neglected to transmit to posterity an account [REDACTED] those merits which could challenge so vast an extent of royal favour: his enemies too have been silent as to faults, which their envy of that favour might naturally have led them to record. [REDACTED] detail of his services here given, is sufficient to assure us that he possessed no mean abilities, and if the conduct of such a man has escaped detraction, it justly demands our good opinion. [REDACTED] mighty Edmund Burke, it is true, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] magical eloquence which could almost immortalise or annihilate the characters of those whom he favoured or disliked, but with the doubtful justice which always attends effusions of anger, levelled a general censure at the memory of this nobleman, to avenge an offence offered by his heir nearly three centuries after his death. [REDACTED] history could have furnished [REDACTED] a single accusation against him, [REDACTED] memorable philippic would certainly have recorded it; [REDACTED] it charges him only [REDACTED] having received great rewards, and barely insinuates that he might not have deserved them.











## NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

MINISTRE OF

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THIS exemplary divine was no otherwise distinguished from his fellow labourers in the Reformation, than by a piety perhaps more [redacted] and sincere, [redacted] a [redacted] farvid. He seemed [redacted] have been born, as well as educated, for the ecclesiastical profession, [redacted] possessed every qualification to adorn, if [redacted] expression may be allowed, as well as to serve a church. [redacted] had however the misfortune to live at a period when [redacted] clergy of his country had no alternative but to abjure [redacted] faith in which they had been bred, or to retire into obscurity [redacted] poverty; [redacted] he hesitated not to adopt the former [redacted]. Certainly the history of these frightful times cannot [redacted] an example [redacted] a purer or more [redacted] proselyte; yet it [redacted] to imagine views merely spiritual in [redacted] conversion of the Catholic chaplain [redacted] a Protestant [redacted] to the religious profession of his lord.

Little is known of Ridley's parentage. A collateral kinsman, of his surname, who several years since took great pains to collect all that had been related of him, could only inform [redacted] that his father was a third son of an ancient family, seated [redacted] Willimondswike, in Northumberland, [redacted] descended from a long series of knights, and it is well known that the name [redacted] flourishes in great respectability in [redacted] province. We learn however, from the [redacted] authority, [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] uncles, Lancelot, an elder, and Robert, a [redacted] brother of [redacted] father, both clergymen of some distinction, and [redacted] the

latter took on himself to provide for the education of the young Nicholas. This engagement was strictly performed, for, after having been well grounded at the always respectable school of Newcastle on Tyne, he was removed to Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge, and went a few years after to complete his studies at the Sorbonne, and afterwards at the celebrated university of Louvain.

He had however in the mean time taken his degrees, in 1522 of Bachelor, and in 1524 of Master, of Arts, and had already established at Cambridge a considerable reputation for a critical skill in the learned languages, particularly the Greek, and was not less esteemed as a deeply read theologian, and an acute disputant. [ ] returned from Louvain to his college in 1529, having [ ] to those qualifications during his absence what was then esteemed the perfection of pulpit argument and eloquence. He became the favourite preacher; was chosen in 1533 senior proctor; and, in the following year, University orator and chaplain. It was at [ ] time that Henry required the two Universities to examine the Scriptures on [ ] grand question of the Pope's supremacy. Their report to the King is well known. Ridley not only went with the stream, but argued against the Papal claim with equal warmth and ingenuity, and [ ] is probable that he then betrayed a leaning towards the new doctrines in spiritual matters, for he was soon after invited by Cranmer to reside in his house, as one of his domestic chaplains, and in the spring of [ ] the Archbishop gave him the Vicarage of Herne, in Kent. In the succeeding year, on the passing of the act of the Six Articles, he had the boldness to preach publicly against [ ] tremendous statute, to [ ] most remarkable provision [ ] which, the prohibition of marriage to the clergy, his patron was known to have rendered himself obnoxious. His gradual abandonment of the Church [ ] Rome it must be confessed now attended the steps of Cranmer's [ ] [ ] singular regularity, and [ ] preferment advanced in the same measure. In 1540 [ ] was appointed

■ chaplain to the King; ■ the next year ■ prebendary of Canterbury; ■ 1545 obtained a stall in the Church of ■.

In the mean time those of the old Church, justly alarmed by his popularity as a preacher, made various efforts to silence him. In 1541 ■ brother prebendaries ■ Canterbury exhibited ■ complaint against him at the Archbishop's Visitation, for having impugned the law of the ■ Articles, and afterwards accused him ■ the Quarter Sessions for Kent, of directing that the *Te Deum* should be sung in English ■ his Church ■ Herne, and of preaching against auricular confession. These charges were at length brought, probably on ■ suggestion of Cranmer, before the Privy Council, when the King referred them to the decision of that Prelate, by whom they were presently quashed. It ■ not however till shortly before the death of Henry that Ridley completely embraced the Protestant ■. He ■ not yet rejected transubstantiation; and it ■ remarkable that ■ this last article of his conversion he once more accompanied Cranmer. We are told indeed by Fox, and others, that he employed nearly the whole of the year ■ in reading and reflecting ■ this celebrated tenet, in ■ retirement ■ his Vicarage; and Cranmer, in the preface to his treatise on the Sacrament, ascribes ■ ■ renunciation to the effect of his chaplain's arguments. At all events, this change in their profession may be said to have been simultaneous.

The doubts and fears of the reformers having been removed by the death ■ ■ capricious tyrant, Ridley gave the reins ■ his zeal and his eloquence. He presently gained the ■ of the young Edward, already a judge and a patron of merit. The fellows of Pembroke Hall, of which he had now been for some time master, having given him a living in ■ diocese of Norwich, ■ presentation to which was ■ by ■ Bishop, he ■ admitted ■ it by the express command of the King; and on the fourth of September, 1547 was promoted to the see of Rochester. In the succeeding

year he was one of the divines to whom was intrusted great of composing common prayer, was soon after joined in commission with Cramer for the correction of the schism of the Anabaptists, and the removal other which already deformed new system of faith. In the execution of this latter office he happily himself a party in horrible of persecution, most remarkable of which the proceedings against Joan Bocher, Joan of Kent, a Dutchman, named Paris, who burned alive, the for denying the humanity, the other the divinity, of Christ. In year, 1539, presided in a public disputation at Cambridge subject of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and the result a decision against transubstantiation, for the purpose of obtaining which the Conference had in fact been held.

Towards the close of the year Bonner, Bishop of London, deprived, Ridley, who had been of the commissioners by whose he ejected, appointed to succeed him; here a most amiable light is thrown on Ridley's character by the accidental preservation of of those minute circumstances which make better acquainted with men's characters than whole volumes the most honest biography—"I took care," says my authority, "to preserve from injury the goods, &c. belonging to Bonner, allowing him full liberty to them when he pleased. Such materials Bonner had purchased for the repair his house and church, the Bishop employed the for which they designed, but he repaid him the which he had advanced for them. upon himself the discharge of the sums which were due Bonner's servants for liveries and wages; and mother and sister of that prelate, who lived palace at Fulham, might not losers in consequence of his own promotion, he always for them to dinner and constantly placing Mrs. Bonner at the head of the table, even when persons of high

were his guests; often saying 'By your Lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner;' as if he had succeeded to the relation as well as office of her son." [redacted] small notices are [redacted] more valuable, because very little has been transmitted to us [redacted] [redacted] private character. I have met with scarcely anything of that [redacted] on which we may safely rely, except in a letter from [redacted] Turner (physician [redacted] the Protector Somerset, and who had been Ridley's fellow collegian) to Fox, who [redacted] to have applied to him for personal matter of Ridley to insert [redacted] his Martyrology. Turner, after extolling him [redacted] disputant [redacted] a scholar, enlarges, in the strongest terms, on his charitable disposition; the sweetness of his temper [redacted] manners, [redacted] the warmth of his attachments; and instances his friendship for Edmund Grindal, afterwards Primate, whom Turner calls his "Fidus Achates."

The first steps indeed of Grindal's progress to supreme dignity in the English Church were made under [redacted] guidance and patronage. This is in [redacted] [redacted] proved by [redacted] original letter from Ridley to [redacted] John Cheke, which remains in the library of Emanuel College, and which it will not be impertinent to insert here, as a specimen of Ridley's energetic style:—

"Master Cheke,

"I wish you grace and peace. Sir, in God's cause, for God's sake, and in his name, I beseech you of your pain and furtherance towards men of God's word. I [redacted] [redacted] with you of late what case I was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the good will and grant to be with [redacted] of three preachers, [redacted] of good learning, and, [redacted] I [redacted] persuaded, of excellent virtue, which are [redacted] able, both with [redacted] and learning, [redacted] forth God's word [redacted] London, and in the whole diocese of the same, where is most need, of all parts of England, for thence goeth example, [redacted] you know, into [redacted] the rest [redacted] King's Majesty's [redacted] realm. The men's names



be these : Master Grindal, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning. Master Bradford, a man by whom I am assuredly informed God hath and doth work wonders ■ setting forth of his word. The third is a preacher the which, for detecting and confuting the Anabaptists and Papists in Essex, both by his preaching and writing, is now enforced to bear Christ's ■ The two first be scholars in the University : the third as poor as either of the other twain. Now ■ ■ fallen a Prebend in Paul's, called Cantrell's, by the ■ ■ one Leyton. This Prebend is an honest man's living ■ ■ pounds, and better, in ■ King's books. I would give it with all my heart to Mr. Grindall, and so I should have him continually with me. The Council hath written ■ ■ to stop the collation, and ■ The King's Majesty hath ■ ■ it ■ the furniture of his stable. Alas, Sir, this is an heavy bearing. ■ this the fruit of the gospel ? Speak, Mr. Cheke, speak, for God's sake, for God's ■ ■ whomsoever you may do any good withall ; and, if you will not speak, then I beseech you ■ ■ my letter speak.

"From Fulham, ■ present, the xxiii<sup>th</sup>. day ■ July, 1561.

"Your's in Christ,

"Nic. London."

Ridley's promotion to the See of London seemed to reinvigorate ■ activity of ■ zeal. ■ presently made ■ diocesan visitation, in which ■ caused the ■ in ■ the churches to be demolished, and replaced by the simple tables still in ■ He ■ now appointed by the Privy Council, jointly with Cranmer, to compose a regular code of the Protestant faith, which having comprised in forty-two articles, it ■ sanctioned by the King in Council, and published under ■ royal authority. Having perhaps ■ some portion of vanity from the praise which he had been so long used ■ receive for ■ ■ and eloquence of his argumentation, ■ determined about this time to apply them towards the conversion of the Princess Mary, and with ■ view

waited on her, at her residence at Hunsdon House. The narration of what passed in that visit, at least as creditable to the Princess as to the Bishop, is too curious to be here omitted, and I give it nearly in the very words of Fox.

"Her highness received him in the presence chamber; thanked him for his civility, and [redacted] with very pleasant discourse for a quarter of an hour; [redacted] remembered him to Court, when chaplain to her father, and mentioned particularly a sermon of his before her father, at [redacted] marriage of Lady Clinton, [redacted] is, to [redacted] Anthony Browne; and then, leaving the [redacted] chamber, [redacted] dismissed him to dine with her servants. After dinner she sent for him again, when the Bishop in conversation told her [redacted] did [redacted] only come to pay his duty to her Grace by waiting on her, but, further, to offer his service to preach before her the next Sunday, if she would be pleased to admit him. [redacted] countenance changed at this, and [redacted] continued for some [redacted] silent. At [redacted] she said, 'I pray you, my Lord, make the answer to this yourself.' [redacted] Bishop proceeding to tell her that his [redacted] duty obliged him to make [redacted] offer, she again desired him to make [redacted] himself, for that [redacted] could [redacted] but know what it would be; yet, if the answer must come from her, she told [redacted] that the doors of [redacted] parish church should [redacted] open for him if [redacted] came, and that he might preach if [redacted] pleased, but that neither would [redacted] hear him, nor allow any of her servants to do it.

" 'Madam,' said the Bishop, 'I trust you will not refuse God's word.' 'I cannot tell,' said she, 'what you call God's word: that [redacted] not God's word now that was God's word in my father's days.' The Bishop observed that God's word was all one at all times, but had been better understood and practised in [redacted] than others: upon which [redacted] could contain no longer, but told him—'You durst not for your ears have preached that in my father's days [redacted] now you do;' and then, to show how able she was in [redacted] controversy, [redacted] added—' [redacted] your new books, I thank God I never read

any of these : ' I never did, and never will.' She then ■■■■ into many bitter expressions against the form of religion ■■■■ present established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in her brother's minority, which ■■■■ said she was not bound to obey till the King came of perfect age, and when he was so, she would obey them; and then asked the Bishop if he was one of the Council; and, on his answering no, ' You might well enough,' said she, ' as the Council goes now-a-days;' and parted from him with these words: ' My Lord, for your civility in coming to see me I thank you; but for your offer to preach before me I thank you not a whit.' After this, the Bishop was conducted to the room where he had dined, where Sir Thomas Wharton gave him a glass of wine, which when he had drank he seemed confounded, and said, ' Surely I have done amiss;' and being asked how, he reproached himself for having drank in that place where God's word had been refused; ' whereas,' said he, ' if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken the dust from my feet, as a testimony against this house.' " Even if Mary had attempted ■■■■ vert him, he could scarcely have used a more furious speech.

A sad reverse of fortune awaited this poor prelate, and even now closely impended over him. An incurable pulmonary malady soon after seized on the incomparable Edward, and ■■■■ the decline of his health faded the views of the reformers. Not long before his death, Ridley having delivered before him, with great fervour of eloquence, a discourse on the duties of charity and beneficence, the King sent for him in the evening, to confer with him more ■■■■ large on the subjects of his sermon, and it is the tradition, that Christ's Hospital, and those of St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, and Bridewell, ■■■■ their foundation, ■■■■ rather their endowments, to the ■■■■ produced ■■■■ King's mind by ■■■■ communication with Ridley on that day. Edward survived but for a few weeks, and Jane Grey became the forlorn hope of the Protestants. Ridley exerted his utmost powers of persuasion

in the public support and justification of her title to the Throne, and, on the utter failure of the enterprise at the head of which she had been cruelly placed, tendered her homage to Mary, who besought her mercy. Elizabeth, however now a prisoner of crime and rebellion, was deemed obstinate heresy, and could scarcely have hoped for forgiveness, even from the most clement prince, under her circumstances.

■■■ presently committed to the Tower of London, where ■■■ remained for eight months, in a ■■■ rigorous ■■■ finement than Cranmer, and others, who were imprisoned there for the same ■■■. It has been thought that Mary was inclined to ■■■ him; an inference drawn from ■■■ that ■■■ strenuous endeavours ■■■ used with him to persuade him to recant than towards any of his fellow-prisoners. The firmness however of his resistance does honour to his memory. ■■■ removed, together with Cranmer and Latimer, to Oxford, and compelled to waste what may be called his dying breath in new disputations on the real presence, and other dogmas of ■■■ ancient Church. At length he ■■■ brought to trial, and, on the first of October, 1555, condemned to die for heresy. The fifteenth of the same month ■■■ appointed for the execution of the sentence, and neither ancient ■■■ modern history ■■■ produce a finer ■■■ ample of an heroism, at once splendid and modest, than ■■■ displayed in the demeanour with which he met ■■■ frightful fate. ■■■ perished ■■■ the stake, in company with ■■■ ancient friend Latimer, and with unnecessary suffering, caused by the mismanagement of those to whom the preparations ■■■ ■■■ tragedy had been entrusted.

Bishop Ridley ■■■ author of ■ number ■ devout ■ con-  
 troversial pieces, which have been printed, and long since  
 forgotten. 1. "Injunctions of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of  
 London, to ■ diocese"—2. "A Treatise concerning Images  
 not to be ■ up nor worshipped in Churches"—3. "A brief  
 Declaration of the Lord's Supper"—4. "The Way of Peace  
 ■■■ ■ Protestants" in ■ Letter to Bishop Hooper—5. "A

**Letter of Reconciliation to Bishop Hooper**—6. "**A piteous Lamentation of the miserable State of the Church of England in the time of the late Revolt from the Gospel**"—7. "**A Comparison between the comfortable Doctrine of the Gospel and the Traditions of the Popish Religion**"—8. "**Account of the Disputation held at Oxford**"—9. "**A friendly Farewell,**" written during his imprisonment there—10. "**A Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament.**"





111







## THOMAS CRANMER,

1517-1556

CRANMER, unlike the generality of the clergy of ■ time, was of very respectable birth. His family ■ originally seated ■ Sotherton, in Suffolk, from whence his grandfather removed to Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, ■ his marriage with the heiress of a most ancient house which bore the name of that parish, and whose estates he acquired by the match. The Archbishop was the second son of Thomas Cranmer, of Aslacton, by Agnes, daughter of Laurence Hatfield, of Willoughby, in the ■ county; and was born ■ the former place on the second of July, 1489. Strype informs us that the education of his childhood was entrusted to "a rude and severe parish clerk" (meaning, I suppose, the minister of his father's parish) "of whom he learned little, and endured much;" and that ■ the age of fourteen he became a student of Jesus College, in Cambridge, and in due time was elected a fellow ■ of that house, and took his degree of Master ■ Arts. ■ academical career was for a while arrested by an unbecoming match, into which he was probably ■ by that kind and easy nature which has been always ascribed to him. We are told particularly of his wife, that she was a relation to the hostess of the Dolphin Inn, opposite to Jesus Lane, ■ Cambridge, and resided there, doubtless in the character ■ a servant. The marriage of course deprived him of his fellowship, and this good man, destined to become the second person in the State, retired meekly to live with his wife at the

inn, perhaps enjoying there, such is the delusion and taint of prospects, peace, tranquil security, which was denied to his future grandeur. Within a year however she died in childbirth : Cranmer, such was the affection of his college towards him, immediately restored to his fellowship ; and in 1523 admitted Doctor in Divinity, and appointed Reader of the Theological Lecture in his college, and an examiner of candidates for divinity degrees.

He remained, thus employed, in the University till 1529, when an accident made him known to the King. The plague raged in Cambridge, and Cranmer had taken refuge in the house of a Mr. Cressy, to whose wife he was related, at Waltham Abbey, in Essex, he carried thither with him a gentleman, who was his college pupils. It happened during his short residence there that Edward Fox, Almoner to the King, and afterwards Bishop of Hereford, the celebrated Stephen Gardiner, to visit his host : the legality of Henry's proposed divorce from Catharine of Arragon, for he was then suing Rome, becoming the topic of conversation, those eminent persons, to whom Cranmer's reputation at Cambridge was not entirely unknown, engaged him in the discussion. He ventured to say that he thought the King's reference to the Holy Scriptures totally unnecessary ; would produce tedious delay, and in the end prove ineffectual ; that the question whether a man might lawfully marry his brother's widow appeared to him to have been already clearly decided by the authority of the Scriptures ; but that the safest method for the King to pursue would be to lay that question before the most learned divines of his two Universities, and to abide by their decision. Fox and Gardiner, who were good courtiers, as well as good Catholics, conscious that the King would highly relish the proposal, hastened to inform him of it, and honestly, and unwarily, mentioned the name of the author ; which Henry is said to have exclaimed, " This man hath gotten the sow by the

right ear." He commanded Crammer to wait on [REDACTED] without delay; formed presently a high opinion of his talents and his learning; and directed him to digest in the form of a general treatise all his arguments on the subject of the divorce; and, in order to his undisturbed application to that task, placed [REDACTED] in the [REDACTED] of Thomas, [REDACTED] of Wiltshire, where [REDACTED] became the friend and favourite of that nobleman's daughter, [REDACTED] ill-fated Anne Bullen, whom Henry already meditated [REDACTED] take [REDACTED] his second wife. These [REDACTED] [REDACTED] said [REDACTED] occurred in August, [REDACTED].

When [REDACTED] completed [REDACTED] book, [REDACTED] King [REDACTED] him to Cambridge, to dispute for the positions which he [REDACTED] advanced in it, and the decision [REDACTED] after publicly declared by that University against the legality of the marriage with Catharine has been ascribed by historians chiefly to the ingenuity of his reasoning, a compliment to the justice of which, whatever we might be inclined to place to the [REDACTED] of Henry's fearful influence, or of [REDACTED] undoubted dictates of religion and morality, it would be impertinent in [REDACTED] place to controvert. Be that however as it might, certain it is that he had already acquired so great a degree of credit with his master that he placed him [REDACTED] the head of those divines and civilians who [REDACTED] attached to the Earl of Wiltshire's [REDACTED] bassy in the following year to the courts of Rome, Paris, and Brussels, and instructed to argue there for the divorce. He [REDACTED] the boldness to present [REDACTED] book to the Pope, and to propose a public disputation on the question, which [REDACTED] civilly declined; but he pressed [REDACTED] closely [REDACTED] some sort of decision, that the Conclave was [REDACTED] length forced into the impious absurdity [REDACTED] uttering a judicial declaration that the marriage was against the law of God, but that yet the Pope had [REDACTED] power [REDACTED] dispensing with it. Leaving Rome, he travelled with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] through Germany, and [REDACTED] Nuremberg became acquainted with Osiander, a celebrated Protestant divine [REDACTED] that city, with whom he sojourned for a considerable time, [REDACTED] prevailed on him to write a treatise

on incestuous marriages, in reference to the King's case. [redacted] he had a stronger motive for prolonging his stay at Nuremberg. [redacted] had again fallen, in the midst of his grave occupations, into the snare of Love: and before he left that city was privately married to the niece of Oslander. This connection [redacted] to have been [redacted] by but [redacted] comfort. for, on his return he left her in Germany; after a time, sent for her to England; and for five years together seemed to have no intercourse with her beyond an indifferent acquaintance; and [redacted] this he thought it prudent to relinquish, [redacted] the appearance in 1539 of the famous Six Articles, two of which forbade the marriage of priests, under the pain of death, when [redacted] sent her again to her family. He had by this lady (a fact which has escaped [redacted] notice of all who have written concerning him) a son and a daughter. I find in the journals of Parliament that a bill passed the Commons on the ninth of March, 1562, for "the restoration in blood of Thomas and Margaret, children of the [redacted] Archbishop Cranmer."

To return to his public life. It should seem [redacted] the King had gradually imparted to [redacted] the whole of [redacted] [redacted] with regard to all [redacted] in Germany, for [redacted] find him, singly, treating with the Emperor, the Elector of Saxony, and other princes of the empire, on every matter of importance in which England [redacted] then concerned with them. [redacted] returned however in November, 1532, and [redacted] immediately named to succeed Warham, who had died in the preceding August, in the See of Canterbury; thus leaping at once from the Archdeaconry of Taunton, [redacted] a single benefice, so insignificant that the name of the parish has not been preserved, [redacted] [redacted] highest ecclesiastical dignity of his country. The truth is, that Henry had found in him a man of considerable talents, united to a candid and grateful mind: humble and pliant as [redacted] all temporal affairs, but stedfastly attached to the new faith, a [redacted] [redacted] obstinacy at that moment [redacted] convenient [redacted] his master's [redacted] Strype has recorded, not so much to

Cranmer's credit, a long detail of his coquetry with the King as to his acceptance of this mighty dignity, in which the simple folly of *Nolo Episcopari* absolutely burlesqued. He professed to decline it, not on the allegation, usual in such cases, of his own insufficiency, but because he could not endure the necessary appointment by the Pope, knowing His Majesty to be the Supreme Head of the Church. Henry, affecting to regard this as a new opinion, put him on the proof, and Cranmer quoted an host of texts. The King, good man, was staggered, and referred the question to some chosen civilians, who determined that Cranmer might, without scruple to his conscience, accept the Archbishopric in the hands of the Pope, and afterwards protest against his spiritual authority. He submitted, and was consecrated on the thirtieth of March, 1543, when he took the usual oath of fidelity to the Pope, and at the same time recorded a long declaration, in which, unhappily, he found the following words. "*Non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta, quovis modo me obligare, quominus libere loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis reformationem religionis Christianae, gubernationem Ecclesiae Anglicanae, aut prerogativam Coronae ejusdem.*"

The first important public act of the new Primate was to pronounce the sentence of divorce between Henry and Catharine: the second, to marry that Prince to Anne Bullen. Though his interest was strengthened by his elevation in that unfortunate lady, it was not injured by her fall; and yet, much to the credit of his heart, he had ventured, on her commitment to the Tower, to intercede for her with her husband. Indeed his great activity in the great work of the Reformation rendered him an instrument indispensably necessary to the King's designs. Cromwell was busily demolishing the foundations of the ancient religion, Cranmer, with a gentler hand, was new building from the ruins; and, if the Church of England owes the strength and solidity of its structure to the power of Henry, the praise of

symmetry, and of simple grandeur of its parts, due to the judgment, mildness, and the patience, of the Archbishop. The story of a man so employed affords but few personal circumstances; and a history of the reformation is in fact the public life of Cranmer. In the prosecution of mighty he encountered considerable obstacles; frequently contradicted, and sometimes endangered. Few among his contemporary prelates sincere reformers, though had abjured the Papal authority. Among them, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, not distinguished by sagacity than by his malignity, and detestable Bonner, Bishop of London, bitterest enemies. At their instigation a long of frivolous articles preferred against him in 1543, by clergy of own diocese, for mal-administration, and irreligious practices, metropolitan church; and, prosecution having justly utter shame and ruin of his accusers, he was charged in the House of with heresy against the Sacrament of the Altar. also failed, but following year a heavier blow was struck at him, for impeached to the King by a party, doubtless a majority, the Privy Council, of endangering the safety of his Majesty, and of the realm, by dividing the people into a variety of heretical sects; which it demanded he might forthwith be committed to Tower, in order his judicial examination. He saved by the special interposition of the King's absolute authority. Henry, having affected to consent to his imprisonment, sent privately for him in the night, and apprised him of critical situation. Cranmer, stout in the defence of his doctrine and his practice, replied he well content to be committed, that he might be afterwards indifferently heard. "O Lord," rejoined the King, (to the words given to him by Fox,) "what fond simplicity! to permit yourself to be imprisoned, every enemy your's take advantage against you. Do you know that when they have you once in prison, three

four false knaves will be procured to witness against you, and condemn you ; which, also, being liberty, not to lift up lips, or appear before your face ?" and hereupon produced a ring, which the Council when they had determined to take no consideration of any matter from them to himself. They summoned the Archbishop to appear before them the next morning, and, having subjected him to the indignity of waiting for an hour among the gentlemen in their antechamber, called him in ; recited their charges against him at great length ; and concluded by informing him of their resolution to keep him prisoner ; when he produced the ring, and the assembly, breaking out in confusion, waited on the King, who reproached them of falsely accusing his faithful servant, and terrified them into a show of reconciliation with him. Shakspeare has detailed the circumstances of this incident in his play of Henry the Eighth with great historical fidelity.

Henry at his death bestowed no peculiar mark of favour on Cranmer. He was named, it is true, in the King's will as one of the sixteen executors, and guardians to the youthful successor, a distinction which could scarcely have been withheld from any man in his high office. Edward's minority, however, and the affection of the Protector Somerset to the Protestant cause, gave his inclination and his power to proceed in the Reformation wholly uncontrolled. Gardiner, Bonner, were committed to prison, and deprived ; as was Heath, Bishop of Worcester ; Day, of Chichester ; Tunstall, of Durham ; but Cranmer's triumph over them was marked by mildness and humanity. The death of Somerset, and the accession of Dudley to vice-regal power, might have been the opposition of those two great men, impaired neither his power nor his credit, for Dudley was, or was to be, a Protestant, and Cranmer meddled little in temporal affairs, as they were importantly connected with the Church, and therefore were political enemies. Unhappily, this situation necessarily forced him to



decided part on the great state question of the succession, distinguished the close of this reign. After having argued with equal boldness and acuteness in the Council, and with the King himself, in support of Mary's title to inherit the Crown, he at last prevailed by Edward himself, as it is said, in a personal conference, to subscribe to the Will by which that Prince had, on his death-bed, bequeathed it to Jane Grey, and this inexcusable vacillation sealed the ruin which before seemed ready to overwhelm him.

On the accession of Mary, the whole weight of her policy, and that of her hierarchy, burst upon him with irresistible fury. He was included in the act of attainder of the adherents of Jane, and in November, 1553, adjudged guilty of high treason for the part he had taken in her cause. He begged for mercy with the most submissive humility, but was tantalized with a pardon for his offence, which was granted merely to aggravate, and not to remove, the bitter chastisement which awaited him. Apparently in the same spirit, he was sent, in custody, from the Tower, together with Ridley and Latimer, to Oxford, to engage in a public disputation on matters of Faith, with a select number of Romanists from the Universities and the Convocation, deputed by the whole body of Mary's Bishops, not only for that purpose, but to argue judicially with the venerable prisoners. Here Cranmer adhered to his principles with a noble constancy, and on the twentieth of April, 1554, ten days after the disputation, he was again brought before this singular court; required to recant; and, on his refusal, condemned as a heretic. He was remanded to his prison, till a confirmation of his sentence should be obtained from Rome; instead of which the Pope ordered a new trial, under his own authority, and directed Cardinal Pole, his Legate, to issue a commission to that effect. On the twelfth of September, in the following year, Cranmer appeared before the commissioners, and the whole whom he was joined by Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, in St. Mary's church in Oxford; and, after some slight form of trial, was

again vehemently exhorted [redacted] his errors, and again firmly refused: whereupon he [redacted] declared contumacious, [redacted] cited to [redacted] personally at Rome within eighty days, [redacted] which he agreed. In the mean time letters arrived from the Pope to the King and Queen, demanding [redacted] he should receive immediate condemnation, and be delivered over to the secular [redacted]. This mandate [redacted] accompanied by an order to Bonner, and Thirleby, Bishop of Ely, to degrade him publicly, which ceremony [redacted] performed in the most mortifying and humiliating [redacted] that vulgar malice could contrive.

All however was not yet lost. Cranmer, with the [redacted] martyrdom suspended [redacted] by a hair over [redacted] head, [redacted] a formidable adversary. [redacted] courageous maintenance of that faith from either the letter or spirit of which he had never [redacted] instant swerved, was a weapon which [redacted] enemies could not have wrested [redacted] him: but, alas! [redacted] let it fall from [redacted] hand, and the glory of the [redacted] lost in the weakness of the [redacted]. Seduced, as Lord Herbert gives us [redacted] to [redacted], by hopes treacherously held out [redacted] him, in an evil hour [redacted] signed a written recantation of all his doctrines. The rest [redacted] horrible [redacted] relate. Having [redacted] sacrificed a splendid reputation in [redacted] world, [redacted] salvation in [redacted] next, for the sake of a [redacted] remnant [redacted] mortal life, which he must have passed in disgrace and obscurity, [redacted] order was secretly [redacted] for [redacted] execution. [redacted] was led to St. Mary's Church [redacted] hear a sermon, and placed opposite to the pulpit, which was mounted by a friar, who exhorted him to persist steadfastly in the faith which he [redacted] lately embraced, and [redacted] [redacted] itself, "which," added the Friar, "it is the will of the magistrate to inflict on you this day!"

In [redacted] dreadful moment Cranmer sprang above himself, and nearly redeemed [redacted] that he had lost. " [redacted] rose from [redacted] seat," [redacted] Bishop Godwyn, "and, without the smallest discovery of fear, made an excellent speech to the people, in

which, having promised many things concerning reformation of life and morals, he repeated the principal heads of his doctrine, and briefly explained his faith, affirming that in his power the Pope was contained and established the Kingdom of Antichrist; and, finally representing how heinously he had offended God by renouncing the truth, he declared therefore his resolution that his right hand, which had so impiously sinned in subscribing the doctrines proposed by the enemies of truth, should be the first to suffer punishment." He was hurried directly from the Church to the place of execution. "Here he stood," continued Godwyn, as translated by Bishop Kennet, in a strain of expression which could not be amended, "exposed, the most piercing spectacle in the world, sufficient, every one would think, not only to excite compassion from his enemies, but to melt inanimate things into tears; the Primate of England, that lately flourished in the highest honour and authority with Princes; most generous for his great sanctity of life, for his age, person, learning, gravity, his innumerable faculties of mind; now by the rage of the Romanists, dressed in a ridiculous old habit; his countenance full of scurrility, and contemptuous revilings; and dragged to a most inhuman and tormenting death. When he was bound to the stake, as soon as the fire was kindled, he raised his left hand to Heaven, and, thrusting out the other, held it in the flames, not removing it, except once to wipe his beard, which was quite consumed. At last, as the flames increased, lifting up his eyes, he cried out, Lord, receive my spirit! and, continuing motionless on the stake to which he was tied, endured the violence of the torture till he expired."

Archbishop Cranmer was the author of a multiplicity of devotional and controversial works. We have of his writings in print, his treatise on the unlawfulness of Henry's marriage, which has already been mentioned.—Several Letters to that Prince and his ministers, and to some foreign divines.—Three discourses on that matter in the King's book, entitled, "The Exhortation of a Christian Man"—a great part

■ what ■ called "The Bishop's Book"—Queries in order  
 ■ ■ correcting of several abuses ■ religion—Queries ■  
 concerning reformation, with answers—A resolution ■  
 questions concerning the Sacraments—A collection of ■  
 ■ out of the Canon Law, to show the necessity of reform-  
 ing it—Answers to the ■ articles of the Devonshire  
 rebels in 1549—A defence of ■ and Catholic doctrine  
 of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; which  
 having been attacked in an answer by Gardiner, Cranmer  
 rejoined in a second tract on the same subject—A Preface ■  
 the English translation of the Bible. A Catechism of Chris-  
 tian doctrine—The ■ part of the Book of Homilies—An  
 ■ ■ Dr. ■ Smith, who had written against his  
 ■ ■ the Sacrament—A Confutation ■ unwritten Veri-  
 ties—Reasons which led ■ to oppose the ■ Articles—  
 Answers ■ ■ Queries concerning Confirmation—Consider-  
 ations offered to King Edward ■ ■ ■ favour of ■ further  
 Reformation—A Manifesto against the Mass—and a ■  
 ■ pious prayers. All, or nearly all, these Works may ■  
 found, either originally printed, or reprinted, in ■ collections  
 of Fox, Burnet, and Strype.

■ manuscript remains ■ perhaps equally voluminous,  
 for several of his Tracts which ■ known to have existed,  
 are ■ undiscovered. Two very large volumes, written by  
 his own hand, on ■ the great points ■ issue between the  
 two Churches, ■ ■ the King's Collection in the ■  
 Museum; and there are, or were, six or seven ■ in the  
 library ■ Hatfield. Burnet mentions two other volumes,  
 which he examined; and many of his original letters are in  
 ■ Cotton Library. Strype states that he left also a declara-  
 tion in two books, against the Pope's Supremacy; a treatise,  
 in ■ books, against the Pope's Purgatory; another, ■  
 concerning justification; and an Argument against ■ ■  
 of ■ Mass, composed during his imprisonment; ■ does  
 not inform us whether in manuscript, or printed.

The original from which the present engraving is taken is

a singular curiosity, independently of its great intrinsic merit; for ■ is the only known specimen of an artist whose very name has escaped the observation of Lord Orford, Pilkington, Bryan, and others who have favoured us with notices of pictorial biography—it is inscribed "*Gerbius Fliccius faciebat,*" and by a label which appears on another part of the picture we are informed that it was painted in the fifty-seventh year of the Archbishop's life.











## EDWARD COURTENAY,

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE

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WE view the circumstances of this Nobleman's short life through the mists of fear and prejudice. An unhappy fatality, as it might seem, connected him, from the hour of his birth, with the highest public considerations, in a time peculiarly marked by cruelty and suspicion. Many who knew the truth of his story, and might have been inclined to tell it with fidelity, shrunk probably from a disclosure, and remained nearly silent. Even those who have written on it more largely, some have been confined by party spirit, others by an authority not unwelcome to their religious and political bigotry, to a relation of a few facts which tend rather to excite curiosity than to give information. Even from these, however, we are enabled to infer with accuracy that he was accomplished, innocent, and miserable.

His misfortunes originated solely in his illustrious descent. His father, Henry Courtenay, tenth Earl of Devonshire of his family, whose mother was the Princess Catherine, daughter of King Edward the Fourth, had been one of the ephemeral favourites of Henry VIII., who having advanced him to the rank of Marquis of Exeter, caused him, a few years after, to be accused of high treason, in having corresponded by letter with his banished kinsman Cardinal Pole; convicted without proof, and beheaded. His mother, Gertrude, daughter of William Blount, Lord Montjoy, was the following year,

by a [redacted] perversion of law, attainted without trial, but her [redacted] spared. Edward, their only [redacted] the subject of this Memoir, [redacted] born about the year 1526, and, immediately after the death of his father, though then only twelve years of age, was committed to the Tower "lest he should raise commotions," says [redacted] author of the History of the Courtenay Family, "by revenging [redacted] father's quarrel." Thus dreadfully do injustice and fear [redacted] attend and aggravate [redacted] other! He remained there, painful to relate, a close prisoner, for [redacted] years. The clemency usually [redacted] [redacted] reign of Edward VI., which [redacted] [redacted] reputation of mildness and justice merely to a comparison with the deeper horrors of [redacted] which preceded it, [redacted] no relief. [redacted] [redacted] one of the six persons who [redacted] specially excepted from [redacted] general pardon granted [redacted] Edward's coronation. Mary, however, immediately after her accession, visited his prison, [redacted] this unfortunate young man, together with the [redacted] of Norfolk, Bishop Gardiner, and the [redacted] of Somerset, presented themselves to her on their [redacted] upon Tower Hill, when she kindly raised [redacted] them, saying, "These be my prisoners;" and [redacted] third of September, 1558, exactly one month afterwards, restored [redacted] Earldom of Devonshire, by a [redacted] patent of creation, together with such of his father's great [redacted] as [redacted] not yet been granted away by the Crown. Prince, in [redacted] "Worthies of Devon," and [redacted] others, add that the dignity of Marquis of Exeter [redacted] also at the [redacted] time revived in him, but this is [redacted] error.

Mary's benignity towards him has been [redacted] generally ascribed by historians to a personal affection, that the fact [redacted] scarcely be doubted. Fuller, whose words I quote for the [redacted] of conciseness, and who ought [redacted] be quoted unless [redacted] account be supported, as it is in great [redacted] in [redacted] instance, by the testimony of more cautious writers, tells us, [redacted] "Holy State," that "this [redacted] noble young Earl was a person of lovely aspect; of a beautiful body

nature, royal descent: all which concurring him, Queen an obliging countenance upon him, and, it was generally conceived, intended him herself; of which report hath handed down to this firmation: that when the Earl petitioned the Queen for leave to travel, she advised him rather to marry, ensuring him that lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse him for husband; and, urging him to make his choice where pleased, she pointed herself out unto him plainly might consist with the modesty of a maiden, and the majesty of a Queen." Others, with much improbability, that he the prisoners recommended to her by her Privy Council whom choose a husband. Bishop Godwyn, historian of deserved credit, and who then in existence, says, according to Kennet's translation, that "there three by common her choice: Philip, Prince of Spain; Cardinal Reginald Pole; and Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter," (for so Bishop always styles him.) "The two their country, splendour of their ancestors, to recommend them; and were hopes under either them liberty and privileges of kingdom would preserved. Affinity of was respected in them all. Pole was much in the Queen's affection for his gravity and holy life, joined with the greatest courtesy and prudence; Courtenay for youth, good humour, and his courtly address: but suspicions were raised against the latter as if he favoured the reformation."

correctness of the report that he made a tender impression the heart of Mary is here rather favoured than opposed. Those who have delivered it down to us add, that he treated her advances with indifference, because he was warmly attached to her sister Burnet seems to have believed the whole, for he says, in the History of Reformation, "The Earl of Devonshire much her favour, so that it was thought some inclinations to

marry him ; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her sister, who of that moderate share of beauty that was between them had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addresses with more than ordinary concern to the lady Elizabeth, and this did bring them both into trouble." Thomas Wyatt, on the contrary, when he was taken prisoner, accused the Earl of having engaged in his conspiracy in resentment of the Queen's having refused to take her for her husband ; and of a consequent design to depose her, and obtain the throne by marrying Elizabeth ; and upon this charge both the Princess and the Earl were committed to the Tower prison from which he had been only six months before released. Wyatt however when he was led to execution, confessed that he had invented it in the hope of saving his life, and that he might be conducted to the apartment of the Earl of Devonshire, which being permitted, he besought the Earl, on his knees, to pardon the wicked slander which he had falsely uttered. Several respectable writers, following Fox, whose partiality is seldom considered with much caution, Gardiner, in his malice to Elizabeth, contrived this interview, and then reported to the Council that Wyatt had been for the purpose of exhorting the Earl to confess his guilt, and of the Princess. Wyatt, on the scaffold, (and here I will use only Fox's words, but his authority, for he durst not have stated falsely what had been lately proclaimed in the hearing perhaps of thousands,) told the people, "Whereas it is noised abroad that I should accuse the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtenay : it is not so, good people ; for I will assure you that neither they, nor any other yonder in hold, were privy to my rising before I began, as I have declared as last to the Queen and Council, and it is true."

The Earl was detained in the Tower till the twenty-fifth May, 1554, when he was removed in the night to Fother-

inghay Castle, in Northamptonshire, still kept in imprisonment till the spring of the following year; when Philip, to gain popularity among his subjects, for the view which we have of his character allows no hope of a better motive, procured the enlargement of the Earl, as well as the Princess, who some time confined in the royal prison of Woodstock. The miserable Courtenay, conscious that he should remain an object of suspicion, made use of that liberty which he had little known, to implore the Queen's permission to quit England: which having obtained, he travelled through France and Italy, at length determined to sit down at Padua, in the fruitless hope of passing there in quiet the remainder of a life which had hitherto been distinguished by the most undeserved and unexampled persecution. A few weeks, however, after his arrival, he was seized by a distemper which, within fourteen days from its first appearance, carried him off, on the fourth of October, 1556, not without strong, and probably well-founded, suspicions of poison, administered at the instigation of emissaries from the land which had given him his ill-fated birth. He was buried in the Church of St. Anthony in Padua, where a superb monument remains, lately remained, to his memory, with the following uncouth inscription; which I insert because it affords, from a somewhat singular source, a corroboration of some of the most important circumstances of a story involved in much uncertainty, frequently disguised by wilful misrepresentation.

*"Anglia quem genuit, fueratque habitura petrum,  
Cortensium celsa huc continet arca Duorum.  
Credita causa necis Regni affectata cupido,  
Regine optatum tunc quoque consubium:  
Cui regni proceres non censebatur, Philippo  
Regium Regi jungere posse rati.  
Europam unde fuit juveni peragraré necesse,  
Ex quo more misere contigit ante diem.*

Anglia ei plorat defuncto principe tanto  
 Nil mirum ; domino deficit illa pia.  
 Sed jam Certenius caelo, fruturque, hostis :  
 Cum doleant Angli, cum alio sine gaudent.  
 Certenai prohibita igitur, instantia, nomen,  
 Dum statit hoc Templum vivida sculpit orant.  
 Anglia hinc etiam statit, statustque Britanni,  
 Conjugi optati sacra porrenis erit.  
 Improbe nature leges l'ibitine rescindens,  
 Ex aquo juvenes, principitque scos."

The elder male line of the great House of Courtenay became extinct by the death of this young nobleman, and the remains, still considerable, of its vast estates fell by inheritance to the heirs of the four sisters of his great-grandfather, who were married into the ancient western families of Trethar, Arundel of Talverne, Mohun, and Trelawney.









THOMAS POLE

CARDINAL POLE.

CH. 1462.





## CARDINAL POLE.

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REGINALD POLE, a noble example to the age in which he lived, stood almost alone, without acquiring the degree of distinction which he justly merited. The splendour of his birth forbade his mixing with a clergy generally sprung from the most ordinary ranks of the people, and the native candour and generosity of his heart prevented him from taking any share in those secret intrigues, those pious frauds, which were then the venial faults of the rulers of a falling church. He was in a great measure disqualified, not only by the sweetness of his temper and the politeness of his breeding, but by the large scope of his mind, for controversies in which the most obscure and insignificant subtleties were always mixed with ill nature and ill manners. His aversion to persecution made him a silent and inactive member of those ecclesiastical commissions which in his own country derived credit from his name; and a sincere Christian humility, joined to that dignified spirit which ruled his conduct in temporal affairs, detached him from the parties which agitated the Conclaves, and besieged the Papal throne. Thus in his own time more admired than understood; respected, but not imitated; and his habits too widely dissimilar from those of others of his own station to admit easily of comparison; it is rather his character than his history that has been transmitted to posterity. It is the common fate of good counsels to have been rejected, and of worthy examples to have been condemned to pass in a great measure unrecorded.



Carthusian as survived. He quitted this retreat upon the first rumour of Henry's inclination to dissolve his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, to which he was utterly averse; and, in order to avoid the necessity of giving unwelcome advice to the King, by whom he was tain to be consulted on that difficult subject, went Paris, under pretence of completing his studies. soon however followed thither by question which Henry, by Cranmer's advice, had determined to lay before the learned of Europe—"Whether it were lawful for marry the widow of a brother, to whom she had borne no issue?" and he was commanded by the King to use best endeavours to prevail on the French Universities, particularly that of Paris, to answer negatively. He contrived to excuse himself from this employment, and, for the time, to evade giving a direct opinion. The King became displeased; and Pole's family him return to England, and to that simplicity of which might prevent suspicion. He accordingly, after a year's absence, and resumed his former habitation at Sheen, where he had scarcely seated himself when Henry, who had determined to sound the inclinations of most eminent power learning of his subjects the question his divorces, besieged him with emissaries, who pressed him vainly for his . The See of Winchester, and afterwards that York, offered to him as the price of his concession, but still declined utter any judgment the matter, and begged only to be left in peace. His brothers at induced to endeavour to by representations ruin to his family that would inevitably follow his refusal, and with which they had actually been threatened, and kind nature gave way. consented to wait the King, and dissemble those scruples which could abandon. In audience long remained mute; but at length nobly sacrificing passion conscience, safety sincerity, burst into that of powerful argument in which

he was so great a master, and finally exhorted the King to [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] purpose. Henry during their discourse [REDACTED] frequently to have [REDACTED] hand on [REDACTED] dagger. Pole however escaped with no further punishment [REDACTED] time than the loss of favour, and availed himself of [REDACTED] precarious interval of forbearance to solicit the King's permission once [REDACTED] to leave the country.

[REDACTED] resided for a year [REDACTED] Avignon, and removed from thence to his favourite Padua, where he had not long been before a messenger arrived from Henry, not only again to urge his concurrence in the divorce, [REDACTED] in the greater matter of the King's assumption of [REDACTED] supremacy. As [REDACTED] Prince [REDACTED] already denounced the penalties of high treason against [REDACTED] [REDACTED] subjects who might oppose that act, [REDACTED] is clear [REDACTED] meaning was now to reduce Pole to implicit obedience, or virtually to [REDACTED] him to banishment. He [REDACTED] also, under the pretence [REDACTED] argumentative persuasion, a book [REDACTED] [REDACTED] been published in England by [REDACTED] Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, [REDACTED] "Oratio hortatoria [REDACTED] obedientiam Regia, contra Papam." [REDACTED] answer, declared his total disapprobation both of [REDACTED] divorce, and the separation from the See of Rome, and soon after addressed to the King [REDACTED] large treatise, composed in four months, [REDACTED] subsequently published [REDACTED] Rome, "Pro Unitate Ecclesiasticâ," in which he [REDACTED] only answered the chief points of Sampson's oration, but openly exhorted Henry [REDACTED] to [REDACTED] obedience [REDACTED] Pope, and called on the Emperor Charles the Fifth to resent the injury done [REDACTED] his aunt, the repudiated Queen. Henry, who, with [REDACTED] faults, [REDACTED] seldom treacherous, now dissembled his anger, in the double hope of preventing the publication of [REDACTED] book, and of getting the person [REDACTED] the author into his power. [REDACTED] sent therefore, specially by post, a mild message, [REDACTED] which it might have been inferred [REDACTED] that his resolutions [REDACTED] somewhat shaken, requiring Pole [REDACTED] return to England, for the purpose of discussing more [REDACTED] large some particular passages in his treatise, which he answered

by a direct refusal, and by a spirited reiteration of his former [redacted] [redacted] doubtless of that book, though Strype [redacted] to think that [redacted] referred to [redacted] other, now unknown, that Cranmer, in a letter which may be found [redacted] the Appendix to Strype's Life of that prelate, thus expressed himself to Thomas Holeyne, [redacted] of Wiltshire. "As concerning [redacted] Kyng [redacted] cause," [redacted] Cranmer, "Mayster Raynold Pools [redacted] wrytten a booke [redacted] contrary to the Kynges hys purpose; wythe [redacted] wytte that [redacted] apperith that [redacted] myght be, [redacted] hys wysedome, of the Cownsell to the Kyng his Grace, and of [redacted] eloquence, that if it were set forthe, and knowne to the comen people, I suppose yt [redacted] not possible [redacted] perswade [redacted] to the contrary." Such [redacted] the testimony borne [redacted] the talents of this eminent person by his most determined adversary.

[redacted] King [redacted] proceeded to deprive him of his ecclesiastical preferments, and of the large pension which [redacted] to [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] had received, and soon after caused him to be proclaimed a traitor, offering a reward to any who should kill him. The favour of the Court of Rome naturally kept pace with Henry's vengeance, and in January, 1536, Paul the Third created him a Cardinal, and soon after appointed him Legate to the Court of France, and afterwards, at the desire, as [redacted] should [redacted] of the Emperor, to Flanders. He had not been long [redacted] Paris when he was secretly informed that Henry had written to [redacted] French King to deliver him [redacted] as a rebel subject, and [redacted] therefore precipitately to Cambray, and thence to Liege; nor [redacted] his mission to the Low Countries more successful, for the Queen Regent, intimidated by the threats of Henry, refused [redacted] receive him in his legantine character. He was therefore recalled by the Pope, and travelled through Germany to Rome, from whence he accompanied Paul to Nice; negotiated a peace between the Emperor and Francis the First; and soon after travelled, with all possible privacy, into Spain, and from thence to Paris, to engage those Princes, and others, to abandon their designs against the Turk, and to



form a league for the restoration of the ancient faith, and of papal authority, in England. These were passing in 1539, Henry, with a savage meanness, wreaked vengeance on the Cardinal's family. His mother, two of his three brothers, were brought to trial, chiefly on charge of having corresponded with him, and condemned to die. The younger, Sir Geoffrey Pole, wrought by fears, was induced to accuse the rest of an incredible design to depose the King, and raise the Cardinal to the throne, and received therefore a pardon; but the Lord Montague suffered death, and his venerable mother, heir of the great House of Plantagenet, after two years' imprisonment, was brought, at the age of seventy, to the scaffold, where, says Lord Herbert, "being commanded to lay her head on the block, she refused, saying, 'So should traitors do, but I am none;' neither could it serve the executioner told her it was the fashion: so turning her grey head every way, she told him, if he would have her head, to get it as he could; so that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly!"

Pole, overwhelmed probably by these domestic miseries, now passed years nearly in inactivity, and the Pope, anxious to preserve him from Henry's fury, sent him to Viterbo, with the honorary character of Legate. He remained there till 1546, when on the meeting, in the beginning of January, of the Council of Trent, he was deputed thither, with two other Cardinals, to represent the Pontiff. He was obliged by ill health to leave the Council sitting, and retire again for a time into privacy, and during that interval his great enemy, King Henry, was taken off by death. Paul the Third dying in 1549, was twice elected, if it may be so said, to the Papedom. He was opposed by the Cardinals in the French interest, the determination of the Conclave in his favour was made amidst tumult and party rage. He refused the election as irregular, not sufficiently deliberate; whereupon the Cardinals reluctantly proceeded to a new scrutiny, and the former election was confirmed, late in the

evening ■■■ same day, by a ■■■ majority of voices. They repaired to his apartment to notify it, and to adore him, according ■ the custom, but ■ had retired to rest. "He received ■■■ with anger," says the translator ■■■ ■■■ life, written by his friend Ludovico Baccatelli, "telling them that ■ would not have a thing, which was ■ ■■■ rather than desired, carried ■ tumultuously and rashly, but decently ■■ orderly: that the night was ■■ a proper time: God was a God of light, and not of darkness; ■■ therefore ■ ought to be deferred till day came." These answers were ■ suited to the pride and the vivacity of Italians, and on a third scrutiny, the Cardinal ■ Monte ■■ elected, ■■ took the name of Julius the Third. From that Pontiff, who was Pole's particular friend, he obtained leave to retire from all public concerns at Rome, and seems at that time to have resolved to ■■■ the remainder of ■■■ in a devout seclusion. ■■ fixed his abode ■ a monastery, in the territory of Verona, where ■ remained for nearly four years, when the unexpected death of Edward the Sixth drew him suddenly from his retirement.

Of Mary's attachment to that form of Christianity which Pole so sincerely professed, ■ is unnecessary to speak; and he, above all men, possessed those talents which ■■■ best calculated ■ aid its restoration in England. The Pope therefore, soon after the Queen's accession, nominated ■■■ Legate to her Court, and he set out towards London in the end of October, ■■■ A slight and ineffectual opposition to ■■ appointment ■■ offered by the Emperor. ■■■ advances had been already made towards a treaty of marriage between his ■■■ Philip ■ Spain, and the Queen, but ■ ■■ rumoured that she had betrayed an inclination ■ bestow her hand on the Cardinal, and well known ■■ a large party in England preferred him to the Spaniard. The marriage with Philip however ■■ soon after celebrated, and Pole arrived in London ■■ just upon the meeting ■ Mary's second Parliament, on the eleventh of November. One of its first acts was to reverse

his attainder; the King and Queen paid him the extraordinary compliment of going in person [REDACTED] to that single bill; and the Cardinal took his seat among the Peers. In the long catalogue which history furnishes of [REDACTED] triumphs of worldly interests over principle and conscience, perhaps no [REDACTED] can be found [REDACTED] remarkable than that which immediately followed, and in a single hour suspended the effect of twenty-five years' labour. "A little after his coming," says [REDACTED] translator of Bishop Godwin's history of the reign of Mary, "both Houses being assembled, [REDACTED] the King and Queen being present, the Lord Chancellor having notified the Cardinal's grateful arrival, Pole himself, in his native tongue, made a long speech, full of extraordinary acknowledgments to their Majesties, to the Lords and Commons, by whose favour, [REDACTED] banishment and proscription being repealed, [REDACTED] was restored [REDACTED] the rights [REDACTED] privileges of his native country. 'And the best return,' he said, 'which in duty [REDACTED] gratitude he could make [REDACTED] so great an obligation was this—that, since by the late schism they had become exiles [REDACTED] the unity of [REDACTED] Church, and [REDACTED] kingdom of heaven, he would, by authority from Christ's Vicar, bring them [REDACTED] [REDACTED] fold, and so [REDACTED] them to their heavenly inheritance. Therefore [REDACTED] [REDACTED] them ingenuously to acknowledge [REDACTED] [REDACTED] errors of the late times, and with sincere alacrity of mind to accept [REDACTED] retain the benefit which God, by the Vicar's Legate, offered to them, for since he was come with the keys, to open to them the church gates, nothing now remained than, that as they had opened a way for his return, by abrogating [REDACTED] laws which had [REDACTED] [REDACTED] exile, [REDACTED] they should abrogate all those laws too which, being lately made against the Apostolical See, wholly separated them from the body of the Church.'

"After [REDACTED] [REDACTED] made a long harangue," continues the Bishop, "to [REDACTED] effect, and ransacked antiquity to show how religiously their forefathers were devoted to the See of Rome, the gravity of [REDACTED] countenance, his smooth language, and [REDACTED] elegant

method ■ his discourse, so sensibly affected the devotees of Popery, that they believed themselves just then regenerated to the hopes of salvation : yet there were some of the House of Commons who strenuously opposed the submitting again to the Roman yoke : but, in fine, by the pressing instances of the King and Queen, all things were concluded to the Cardinal's satisfaction : the Pope's former authority in this realm was restored ; and the title of Supreme Head of the Church abrogated from ■ Crown. A petition for absolving ■ clergy and laity from the crime of heresy was presented by ■ Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor to the Legate, who pronounced the absolution, in English, to all the estates, kneeling. After this they went in procession to the Chapel Royal, singing Te Deum ; and on the Sunday following, the Bishop of Winchester in ■ sermon related the particulars of that day's proceeding."

The Cardinal's soon proved however a painful, and indeed but a nominal, pre-eminence. Mary, gloomy, morose, and revengeful, and, as may be feared, in her very nature cruel, was easily led to reject the wise and temperate plans which he seems to have formed, and to set at nought those mild, as well as wise, counsels which would probably have perpetuated the Romish religion in England. Gardiner, barbarous as herself, and with powers of mind which, though of a different cast, were equal to those of Pole, obtained her ear, and laid the foundation of those measures which have rendered her name a blot ■ the ■ of history. ■ regarded Pole too with the jealousy of a rival, and thirsted for the Primacy, vacant by the deprivation of Cranmer, which Mary ■ designed for the Cardinal, and which he now held in sequestration. In the spirit of hatred which soon arose ■ of these ■ Gardiner intrigued at Rome for the dignity of the Purple, and to induce the new Pope, Paul the Fourth, of ■ family of Caraffa, who had been always Pole's bitter enemy, to transfer the legantine character from that prelate to him-

self. [redacted] however [redacted] [redacted] he was eagerly prosecuting these schemes, and three months after, on the [redacted] February, 1556, [redacted] day after Cranmer's execution, [redacted] was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. In the [redacted] time the Pope proceeded to deprive him of the office of Legate, and invested another with that character, but Mary refused to admit him into her kingdom, and, after a sharp contest, which she maintained with a becoming and [redacted] spirit, Pole was reinstated. But the [redacted] of [redacted] then hovered unseen [redacted] the mistress and the servant. [redacted] was soon [redacted] attacked by a feverish complaint, in which he lingered for several weeks, while Mary also gradually sunk under an unknown malady. She died on the seventeenth of November, 1557, and the Cardinal, whose departure was probably accelerated by receiving the news, survived her exactly sixteen hours. He was buried with great [redacted] in the Cathedral of Canterbury, but with no other epitaph than [redacted] short inscription, "Depositum Cardinalis Poli."

The productions of Pole's pen, [redacted] might be expected, were very numerous. In addition to his book *De Unitate*, which [redacted] been mentioned, he addressed to Henry the Eighth a [redacted] of [redacted] work, and another to Edward the Sixth. His other printed writings [redacted] "*Reformatio Angliæ, ex Decretis Reg. Poli*"—"De Concilio"—"*De Baptismo Constantini Imperatoris*"—"De Summi Pontificis Officio [redacted] Potestate," and other tracts on that subject—"Oratio in [redacted] Pace"—"*Oratio ad Imperatorem contra Evangelicos*"—and "*A Treatise of Justification*," with which [redacted] printed translations of several small ancient works, chiefly on the [redacted] subject. He [redacted] in manuscript, according to Anthony Wood—"Comment. in *Ezaiam*"—"Comment. in *Davidis Hymnos*"—"Catechismus"—"*Dialogus [redacted] Passione Christi*"—"De [redacted] Christi"—"*De [redacted] Concionandi*"—A Discourse unfinished, addressed to Philip and Mary, of restoring the Goods to the Church, and three Homilies. [redacted]

had likewise been for several years employed, as we learn from the same authority, in collecting with the greatest care the various readings and emendations of the text of Cicero's works, together with the critical observations of all the learned friends of that author, with the intention of publishing a complete edition. This classical curiosity is it seems totally lost, and probably most of the rest of his unpublished works.



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